The Inscriptions of Satala (Armenia Minor)

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SATALA (ARMENIA MINOR)

J. G. Taylor, HM Consul for Kurdistan, first drew attention to the inscriptions of Satala after his brief visit in August 1866.[1] He was followed in September 1874 by Alfred Biliotti, Vice Consul at Trebizond. But during an energetic visit lasting nine days he was unable, in spite of the minutest researches and vigorous excavation, to find other than five Byzantine epitaphs extracted from the vicinity of the basilica, and a fragment of brick bearing the stamp of XV Apollinaris. Built into the Chief's house were a statue base, and a very large block, with a single line of letters. Biliotti tried in vain to unearth the latter, presuming it to be the architrave of a temple.[2] It seems that his principal contribution to the epigraphy of Satala may have been to inspire the villagers henceforth to preserve and display their inscriptions. He was followed, seemingly in summer 1882, by Major William Everett, Vice Consul in Erzerum.[3] A decade later a richer harvest awaited Hogarth and Yorke during their rapid journey along the Euphrates frontier in 1894.[4] And in 1900 Franz and Eugène Cumont were able to carry out the first comprehensive epigraphic survey of the fortress and its surroundings.[5]

There followed a gap of more than two generations, until the writer first visited Satala in 1964. Professor Henri Grégoire had asked him to progress and publish the second fascicle of *Studia Pontica* III (the inscriptions of eastern Pontus and Armenia): and entrusted to him the original texts, with squeezes and meticulous notebooks, of inscriptions recorded principally by Cumont, and by Grégoire himself in 1907, with comment added by Honigmann and Heuten.[6] The writer has been able to revisit and stay at Sadak on several occasions.

But publication has been sporadic, sometimes obscure. The present study accordingly brings together a small *corpus* of all the known texts of the classical period.[7] During the course of the past thirty years several of Cumont's inscriptions have gradually reemerged in different locations in the village. Many new texts have surfaced. But many, previously recorded, have vanished.

Like Sebastopolis, Satala has clearly been an epigraphic treasury since Roman times. But as

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[1] J. G. Taylor, HM Vice Consul for Kurdistan, "Journal of a Tour in Armenia, Kurdistan and Upper Mesopotamia, with Notes of Researches in the Deyrsim Dagh, in 1866", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 38 (1868), 287–289 (9th–10th August 1866).

[2] Alfred Biliotti, HM Vice Consul at Trebizond, "Report on Saddack, the supposed site of the ancient Satala" (24th September 1874), in T. B. Mitford, *Anatolian Studies* 24 (1974), 221–244 (1st–10th September 1874). The five inscriptions recorded in Biliotti's Report (preserved in the Greek and Roman Department) are reproduced (Nos. 53–57) with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

[3] Everett was HM Vice Consul, later Consul for Kurdistan from July 1879 until January 1888. His area of responsibility, recalled in the Foreign Office List, comprised "the Pashalics of Erzeroom, Kharpoot, Diarbekir, Moosh and Van". His visit to Satala, apparent only from *SP* 389 = no. 13, appears to have followed authorisation granted in May 1882 to travel to Erzincan, to visit the western part of the vilayet (in PRO *FO 195*, 1420).

[4] Vincent W. Yorke, "A Journey in the Valley of the Upper Euphrates", *Geographical Journal* 8 (1896), 459–462; D. G. Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, (London 1896), 136 (summer 1894).

[5] For Satala, Franz and Eugène Cumont, "Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie", *Studia Pontica* II (Brussels 1906), 343–351 (from notebook, 4th–7th June 1900). Grégoire, *BCH* 30 (1909), 3–170, did not himself visit Satala.

[6] *Acta* of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress (Cambridge 1967) 377–380. I am most grateful for the support initially of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, and latterly of the British Academy; and throughout for the generous and continuing permission of the Turkish Government and the help of local authorities. I wish particularly to thank Professor Ekrem Akurgal, Professor Tahsin Özgüç, Admiral İrfan Tınaz, and His Excellency Mr Kâmran İnan for their unfailing support and encouragement; and in Sadak the marvellous headmaster, Mr Dursun Göz, for his limitless interest and hospitality (T. B. Mitford, *ANRW* II.7.2, 1200, Plate 10).

[7] This collection retains Cumont's numerical system. The abbreviation *SP* is followed either by the inscription number, continuing the sequence in *Studia Pontica* III, fasc, 1, or by the page number in *Studia Pontica* II.

elsewhere in Anatolia, the pace of change since the later 1960s – the building of roads, the replacement of water buffaloes by tractors and much deeper ploughing, the introduction of electricity with its attendant modern comforts – has increasingly disrupted the conservatism of centuries. The effect on inscriptions has been depressing. Signs of decay began to appear in the epigraphic stock from the mid 1970s. The death blow fell in 1986, when three stones were removed to the Erzurum Museum. Almost at once nearly all of the surviving inscriptions were hurriedly concealed, or disappeared; and by the following year virtually none remained to be seen. In 1996 only three survive.

1. (*SP* 384). Found in 1955 near the centre of the fortress, and in 1964 lying on the hillside ahout one hundred metres north west of the mosque. In 1996 in the corner of a garden wall of Niyazı Yeğin.

Block of whitish limestone, roughly dressed, but complete. The inscription is set in an ansate panel. H. 0. 99 m; L. 0. 74 m; Th. 0. 29 m. Crude letters, with traces of red, 4–5.5 cm. There is no trace of an earlier inscription.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Published *JRS* 64 (1974), 169f. no. 5. Plate VII.

Imp. Gallieno Aug.
V et Faustiano cos.

The date is AD 262.

The inscription provides an alternative form of the name for the *consul ordinarius* of that year. He is otherwise known epigraphically only in an almost identical text from Ostia.[8]

The official language implies a public rather than a private dedication. Professor Richmond suggested that the stone rnay be one of an inscribed pair erected on either side of the door of a large building. In an imperial dedication, the arrangement and cut of the text are of unusual crudeness. The date may offer an explanation.

The mid third century brought a series of disasters upon the central and northern sections of the *limes* guarded by Satala. Imperial concern for the frontier defences is attested in Decius' restoration of the Sabrina bridge in AD 249/51.[9]

Under Valerian a new enemy appeared in the north. In AD 253, the Borani descended on the eastern seaboard of the Black Sea. Some two years later they sacked Trapezus, despite reinforcement in legionary strength, and seized rnuch of the eastern Pontic Fleet.[10]

Perhaps in the following year, Sapor swept through Cappadocia and Armenia Minor, capturing Satala and its surrounding territory, together with the adjoining stations along the frontier road at Domana and Suisa.[11] His claim implies the defeat, or the absence, of the legionary garrison, and lends support to the view that XV Apollinaris had been weakened by involvement in the vain defence of Trapezus. But the legion cannot have been entirely destroyed, for it survived to remain in garrison at Satala more than a century later.[12]

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[8] CIL 14, 5357, *Imperatore Gallieno Augusto V et Nummio Fausiano cons II. Faustianus* recurs in SHA, *Gallienus* 5,2; and in *Fasti Theonis Alex.* 3,378. The variations *Faustinianus* and *Faustinus* are also known from later Fasti, *PIR*^{2}, F. 125. For the Nummii, brought to prominence by Gallienus' patronage with the consulship, cf. *Diz. Epigr.* 2, 1015.

[9] Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950), 1568, n. 29. CIL 3, 14184/14, where the reason for his repairs is unstated. The bridge, with a single 30 metre arch, now collapsed, rested on foundations of solid rock.

[10] Zosimus 1,33. The extra soldiers defeated at Trapezus must have been drawn from supporting garrisons, and from XV Apollinaris itself. μυρίων may indicate no more than an indefinitely large number.

[11] E. Honigmann, A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Brussels 1952), para 18. See also "Res Gestae Divi Saporis", *Syria* 35 (1958), 295: Satala in l. 18.

[12] *Notitia Dignitatum, Oriens* 38, 13; A. H. M Jones, *LRE* 3, 381, dates the whole document "basically to AD 408". But

In c. AD 260, the Armenian king was rnurdered, and his son Tiridates fled to Roman protection when Sapor invaded and conquered Armenia. Instead of a client, a hostile and aggressive ruler for the first time faced the Romans across the upper Euphrates.

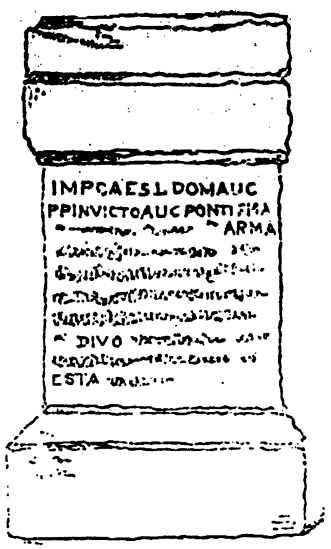
A few years after Sapor's raids, the Goths, allies of the Borani, overran Cappadocia and Galatia; and at this period cities throughout Asia Minor hurriedly constructed protective walls not previously needed.[13]

The inscription suggests a programme of reconstruction at the fortress. The more careful and elaborate dedication to Aurelian ten years later, in AD 272/5, may be seen as a part of the same process; marking perhaps the completion or repair of an important public building, it may bear witness to a continuing and determined effort to restore the defences of Satala, and to reassert Rome's authority in the north east.[14]

The increased importance of the northern sector of the frontier was recognised under Diocletian by the installation at Trapezus, between AD 284 and 288, of a new legion, I Pontica.[15]

2. (*SP* 385). "In a field occupying a part of the ground of the old town (of Saddack). Roman votive altar, considerably damaged, as also a Latin inscription . . . consisting of twelve lines it originally bore on its face. The first and second lines were legible". Now lost.

Copy of J. G. Taylor in 1866, recorded *JRGS* 38 (1868), 287f. Cf. V. W. Yorke, *JHS* 18 (1898), 324; CIL 3, 14184/3. Text after Taylor's drawing in *JRGS*.



Imp. Caes. L. Dom. Aur[el](iano)
P(io) F(elici) invicto Aug. pontif. ma[x.]
[Ger. max., Got. max., P]ar. ma[x.]

vv 4 lines

.. divo..

v 1 line [.. numini mai-]

10 esta[tiq. ejus..]

vv 2 lines

The date is mid AD 272 to March AD 275. The inscription was perhaps dedicated to Aurelian during his passage across Asia Minor; after his victory over Zenobia in summer AD 272, when he took the title of *Parthicus*.[16] It was not until the autumn, some months later, that he acquired the additional title of *Carpicus*, restored in L. 3 by previous editors.[17]

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the armies of the eastern frontier are in it preserved largely unaltered since the time of Diocletian.

[13] For instance at Ankyra, *IGR* 3, 206; and perhaps at Dorylaeum, Magie, 1567, n. 28.

[14] No. 2.

[15] *ILS* 639, Trapezus. Cf. Bean and Mitford, "Journeys in Rough Cilicia", *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 1970, no. 50, Colybrassus (?); *Notitia Dignitatum, Oriens*, 38, 8 and 15.

[16] For the abbreviation *Par(thicus) Max(imus)*, cf *ILS* 581, Orleans; and for the suggested *maiestas*, *ILS* 576, Barcinone. Taylor's other drawings, at Nicopolis, are careful and accurate. Space does not allow *Aureliano* to be restored in full.

[17] Cf. Homo, *L'Empereur Aurélien*, (1904), 105, n. 2, and 109, n. 4; Stein, *PIR*^{2}, D.135; Groag, *RE* 5, 1355f.

The interest of the inscription lies in the evidence it offers, with the Gallienus inscription,[18] for a rapid and determined recovery after the series of disasters at the hands of Goths and Sapor. The stone was evidently large, the text obviously formal. It probably marked the construction or repair of an important building in the fortress.

3. (*SP* 385A). In 1894 and 1900 on a stone built into the roof of the mosque. Now not visible.

Stone broken above and left, bearing the end of the inscription. H. 0. 29 m; L. 0. 48 m. Letters 5 cm.

Copy of Yorke in 1894, published V. W. Yorke, *JHS* 18 (1898), 322, no. 39; cf. CIL 3, 13631. Copy of Cumont 4th June 1900. Drawing from his notebook.

[. . . . mat]rem castror(um)

Probably Severan. The copies of Yorke and Cumont are identical. As the latter was able to take precise measurements, he clearly had access to the stone, which must be considered distinct from no. 16.

The title is borne by several empresses, from Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, to Magnia Urbica, wife of Carinus. In the east it is applied to Iulia Domna in military contexts: on the surviving column at the north-eastern end of the Chabina bridge, and probably in the correct reading of a dedication at Nicopolis.[19] At Satala it seems likely that the same lady is in question.

4. (*SP* 386). Unearthed by villagers in 1964 near the centre of the fortress, some three hundred metres north of the mosque. In summer 1986 removed to the Museum in Erzurum.

Stele of whitish limestone, broken above, and with a moulding 8 cm wide at the sides and below. Above, the lower part of a wreath. The back is very rough. H. 1.05 m; L. 0.68 m; Th. 0.28 m. Letters 4.5–6 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964, published *JRS* 64 (1974), 164ff., no. 3. Plate VII.

D. M.
C. Quintia-
nus Maxi-
mus sig.
leg. XVI F.F.
(centuria) Pudentis, vix.
an. XXXV, Iulia
Maxima uxor
eius
M. C.

Quintianus is not attested as a *nomen* in CIL. Here it may be a *cognomen*, and Maximus, found throughout eastern Pontus, an *adnomen*.

At Satala, *uxor* and *coniunx* are each attested twice.[20] The presence of a wife need not imply a late date: the letter forms are consistent with the first or early second centuries, and the stele must predate the transfer of the *signifer*'s legion, XVI Flavia Firma, to northern Syria.

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[18] No. 1.

[19] CIL 3, 6714, Commagene; CIG 4189, Nicopolis.

[20] Nos. 11, 17, and 19; A. Birley, *Life in Roman Britain* (London 1964), 45f.

This inscription confirms the suggestion, first advanced by McElderry, that XVI Flavia Firma was the second of the two legions assigned by Vespasian to Cappadocia, and was stationed at Satala.[21] There it formed the regular garrison for nearly half a century. Of its occupation it has left few traces: in the fortress, only one other inscription, that of the *miles* C. Trebonius; and in north-eastern Anatolia, only the three centurions posted at the important road centre at Ankyra.[22]

Raised by Vespasian, XVI Flavia is first mentioned probably in the spring of AD 70, in Syria.[23] With the redeployment of Titus' legions after the fall of Jerusalem, c. 26th September in the same year, it followed XII Fulminata across the Taurus, to garrison the new consular province of Cappadocia-Galatia with Armenia Minor. XII Fulminata established itself at Melitene, perhaps in spring AD 71, and close to the spot where it had wintered in huts a decade before, *in extrema Cappadocia*. Elements at least of XVI Flavia remained in Syria, engaged in construction work not completed until the middle of AD 75. But it seems likely that the main body of the legion deployed to Armenia Minor on its annexation in AD 71/2 – no doubt also heading for a destination determined in advance. For a garrison was clearly needed to organise the new province, and there were roads to be built: that in the central plain was constructed in the first half of AD 76.[24]

The legion evidently remained in garrison at Satala until Trajan's Parthian war, in which its participation is proved by the *corona muralis* awarded to a centurion.[25] With XII Fulminata, it is likely also to have fought in the Armenian campaign, on which Trajan embarked from Satala *cum cognitis militibus*. Perhaps in recognition of its role, the title *Fidelis* first appears at the formation of the province of Armenia Major.[26]

The title *Firma*, almost invariably attached to the legion, was evidently conferred on XVI Flavia during its years at Satala. The occasion is a matter for conjecture: perhaps for operations in the Caucasus under the Flavians, at the periods of the inscriptions found at Harmozica and Baku.[27] After the war in Parthia, the legion was probably deployed directly to Samosata, perhaps not until then a permanent fortress; and its place at Satala taken by XV Apollinaris.[28]

5. (*SP* 386A). Built into his garden wall outside the house of Namludoğlu Bulut (the owner of no. 35), a hundred metres north of the mosque.

Rectangular slab of whitish limestone, broken below and very badly pitted above. The moulding of the panel is visible left; and above left are traces perhaps of a bust of the deceased, in very shallow relief. The right edge has been reworked. The back is rough, and probably the top. H. 0.81 m; L. 0.63 m; Th. at least 0.24 m. Letters 5.5 cm.

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[21] McElderry, *CQ* 3 (1909), 44f.; cf. Magie, 1436, n..22. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8, 4.

[22] No. 5; CIL 3, 264 and 6766/7, Ankyra.

[23] Dio 55, 24, 3.

[24] For XII Fulminata, Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 7, 1, 3; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 6f. XVI Flavia was perhaps formed in AD 70 under Vespasian, Dio 55, 24, 3. Soldiers from it, and from three other legions, took part in the construction of a canal and bridges just east of Antioch in the second quarter of AD 75, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 185 (1985), 85ff.; and see Mitford, *ZPE* 71 (1988), 168, n. 7. The era of Nicopolis presumably started from the annexation, and was reckoned from AD 71/2, Mitford, *ANRW* 7, 2, 1180, n. 15. The strategic position of Satala was doubtless well known since Claudius' activities in Armenia, and the site itself had perhaps already held a garrison during Corbulo's campaigns, Tac., *Ann.* 12, 45, and 13, 30.

[25] N. Marcius Plaetorius Celer, later in charge of the garrison at Apsarus, *ILS* 2660, Abella. The legion was perhaps commanded during the war by L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus, who returned to govern Cappadocia under Hadrian and Antoninus, *ILS* 1066, Minturnae.

[26] Fronto, 205; *AE* 1931, 36 and 38, Chellah.

[27] *ILS* 8795, Harmozica, after 1st July AD 75; *AE* 1951, 263, Büyük Taş, above the Caspian, of AD 84–96. Their positions blocked the southern exits from the Caucasian and Caspian Gates respectively. With the latter should perhaps be associated the lost Latin inscription mentioning XII Fulminata, from the left bank of the lower Araxes, Jampolski, *VDI* 31 (1950, no. 1), 182. The legion's activities may be connected with the death of Rutilius Gallicus, Statius, *Silvae* 1, 4, 79.

[28] See no. 7.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 16th August 1965. Plate VII.

C. Trebon[iu]ṣ
miles leg(ionis)
XVI F F. 0

Evidently a tombstone, of dimensions typical at Satala. The text may have been preceded by D(is) M(anibus), but because of the pitting no trace survives of any preceding lines.

L. 1 Traces on the stone suggest that the final letter was *O*. But as the following line is apparently complete, there is barely space even for a short *cognomen* terminating on *-o*, or *-on*: to allow, for example, C. Trebo(nius) Milo, or Cilo. C. Trebonius remains preferable, and is consistent with a first century date.

L. 3 The legionary number and abbreviated titles are not in doubt. One or possibly two letters are missing between *FF* and the final letter, which appears to be *O*. The restoration *[c]o[h(ortis)]* suggests itself.

The stone confirms the presence at Satala of XVI Flavia Firma.[29]

6. (*SP* 387). Legionary tiles from the village.

No. 1 obtained by Biliotti in September 1874, as Mitford, *Anatolian Studies* 24 (1974), 233.

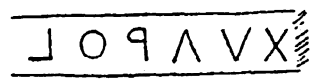
Nos. 2–6 copied by Hogarth and Yorke in 1894, and published V.W. Yorke, *JHS* 18 (1898), 321, no. 36. Cf. *Athenaeum* 14th July 1894; CIL 3, 13647.

Nos. 7–9 copied by Cumont in June 1900.

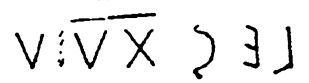
No. 10 copied by TBM with photograph 10th October 1964.

Drawings of nos. 2–6 from Hogarth and Yorke in *JHS*. Plate XIV.

1. Fragment of brick on which is stamped in relief in a square. LEG XV ΛPI

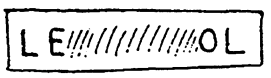


2. Picked up. ⅃OϘ ∧ ∀X[ƎƎ⅃]

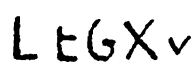


3. In the threshold of the house of Mehemet Suleiman. ∀ ∀X ƎƎ⅃. The initial V presumably in error for A.

4. In the house of Hadji Hassan, in a panel with swallow-tails. LEG XV



5. In the same house, in a rectangular panel. LE[G XV AP]OL



6. In the same house. LEG XV

7. In a rectangular panel. A ∀X ƎƎ⅃

8. Large brick, with sides of 0.40 m. Very clear letters, without a panel. LEG XV

9. Brick similar to the preceding. LEG XΛ

10. In the house of Dedem Meral. Tile of reddish brick, complete. H. 0.35 m; L. 0.40 m; Th. 4 cm. Letters 2.3–3 cm, set in a sunken panel (13 cm x 3 cm). To the left a large crescent, or reversed Ɔ . LEG XΛ

[29] See no. 4.

Each of the ten tiles appears to have existed separately. Indeed, to judge from the descriptions, no two are the same. There is no indication of date.

The presence at Satala of XV Apollinaris, first established by these tiles, is discussed below.[30]

7. (*SP* 387A). Inside the house of Osman Nahir, on the left of the front door, a hundred metres north north-west of the mosque. With no. 47.

Block of hard and darkish limestone, broken above and fractured right. When found, the bottom was buried. H. at least 0.70 m; L. 0.51 m; Th. at least 0.34 m. Letters 4–4.5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 2nd November 1972, published *JRS* 64 (1974), 167ff., no. 4. Plate VII.

[L. An]tonio P̣a̤[ter]-
n̤o armo̤-
rum custod̤[i]
leg̤ XV Apolli[n(aris)],
vi̤xit annos LIII̤
militavit ann.
X̣XVIII̤ evocat.,
Lucius fi-
lius et L. He . . . iu[s]
heredes ei̤us f[ec(erunt)]

Apart from the legionary tiles, the first epigraphic evidence for the presence of XV Apollinaris at Satala.

Transferred perhaps in AD 114 from Carnuntum in Pannonia Inferior,[31] XV Apollinaris replaced XVI Flavia Firma at Satala at some point before the invasion of the Alani in AD 134, and against them formed the core of Arrian's army under M. Vettius Valens.[32] The legion had made the same journey once before, in AD 63, to reinforce Corbulo's army in Armenia.[33]

This second deployment to the east may be satisfactorily explained only in the context of dispositions for Trajan's Armenian and Parthian wars. Two other legions from the Danube, and one from the Rhine, are known to have taken part in the Armenian campaign; and auxiliary regiments also transferred, perhaps in company with the legions, in AD 114.[34] All perhaps reached Satala in time to be met there by Trajan. But there is no evidence that XV Apollinaris took part in either campaign, and the legion perhaps remained behind at Satala, to garrison the western portion of the short-lived province of Armenia Major. It thus released XVI Flavia Firma, accustomed to service conditions in the east, and acclimatized to extremes of temperature and altitude.[35]

XV Apollinaris remained at Satala at least until the early fifth century.[36] But of its three centuries and more of continuous occupation, the epigraphic record is relatively sparse. On the Euphrates frontier

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[30] No. 7.

[31] CIL 3, 4491, perhaps the latest record of XV Apollinaris at Carnuntum.

[32] Arrian, Ἔκταξις 5, 15 and 24; cf. CIL 11, 383.

[33] Tac., *Ann.* 15, 25f.

[34] Ala I Flavia Aug Britannica miliaria c. R. perhaps accompanied XV Apollinaris from Pannonia Inferior. It was described on 1st September AD 114 as *missa in expeditionem*, CIL 16, 61; and left trace of its deployment at Amaseia and perhaps at Nicopolis, important stages on the road to Satala, *SP* 104, and *AE* 1908, 23. See no. 9, n. 2; and Mitford, *JRS* loc. cit., 168, and nn. 49–51.

[35] Dio 68, 19; cf Fronto, 205. IV Scythica, attested at Artaxata in AD 116, may be considered to have garrisoned the eastern part of Armenia Major. Trajan left troops in strategic places, Dio 68, 21; and B. N. Arakelyan, *VDI* 118 (1971, no. 4), 114–118. Satala lies at an altitude of 5,900 feet.

[36] Dio 55, 23, 5; Antonine Itinerary 183, 5; *Notitia Dignitatum, Oriens* 38, 13.

itself, the legion's influence is attested only in a single badly worn *aes* at Vaşen, a village three miles north of Dascusa: it bears the freshly struck countermark LXV (*legio XV*). A military doctor, and a vexillation, perhaps detached as a standing garrison during the later second century, are known at Trapezus. Vexillations are also attested at Kainepolis; and perhaps at Petra, on the Black Sea coast some ten miles north of Batumi.[37]

8. (*SP* 387B). Unearthed in c. 1978 by Ahmet Yiğin, while ploughing on a low hillside overlooking the fortress, about five hundred metres north of the village. Transported and used as a wall for his threshing floor, on the north side of the village; and in summer 1986 removed to the Museum in Erzurum.

Tall stele of local, brownish limestone, excellently preserved. H. 2.13 m; L. 0.68 m; Th. 0.19 m. Careful, deeply cut letters, 5–8 cm. The back is rough. The text is bordered on each side by a pilaster. Above, in a semi-circular apse, an eagle in high relief. There appears to be a final line, offset to the right and effaced, and preceded by a gap of one line.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 28th July 1984, published *ZPE* 71 (1988), 171, no. 1. Plate VIII.

D. M.
Ti. Iuli. Ti. Cl. Mar-
tialis Savaria
mil. leg. XV Apol.
ann. XXX ṣtip XIII.
Ti. Iulius Buc-
cio optio eo
fraṭri posuit

NASỌ . V

With the three succeeding inscriptions, this stele forms an important funerary group, similar in execution as in broad dimensions, and seemingly to be dated to the early years of Hadrian. Although the largest stone had been broken in half, all four were still in excellent condition in 1984. Two in particular were finely decorated with busts in high relief. Carving of this quality was previously unknown at Satala. The texts are all in Latin, on the eastern frontier the language of the military. It seems that Ahmet Yiğin, deep ploughing by tractor, has located a part of the second century legionary cemetery.

Savaria is evidently the town in Pannonia Superior, some sixty miles south of Carnuntum, from where XV Apollinaris appears to have transferred to Armenia Minor under Trajan.[38] Martialis' relatively brief period of service suggests that he enlisted in the legion shortly before its transfer, and died soon after its arrival; and gives a date for the cemetery of c. AD 120.

For a second *optio* at Satala, compare P. Turranius Severus.[39] The *cognomina* are not attested in eastern Pontus or Armenia Minor.

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[37] The coin is probably of Trajan, of the mint of Caesareia. The same countermark appears on a coin from Nicopolis, of AD 113/4, T. Reinach, *Récueil général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, 1 (ed. 2, 1925), 136, n. 2, and *REA* 16 (1915), 136f., fig. 5f. At Trapezus, *medicus leg. XV Apo.*, *ILS* 6747; and a vexillation, Mitford, loc. cit., 163f., no. 2. Kainepolis had a powerful garrison: a vexillation from XV Apollinaris was brigaded there with a vexillation from XII Fulminata in AD 175/6, *ILS* 9117; and ten years later was still in garrison under a tribune, *ILS* 394, of AD 185. A third tribune, presumably also commanding a vexillation, is known from Kainepolis, *SEG* 15, 839; and see no. 11. At a coastal site fifteen miles north of Absarus, and identified as Petra, a tile bearing the stamp VEXFA appears to abbreviate *vex(illationes legionum XII) F(ulminatae et XV) A(pollinaris)*, Levkinadze, *VDI* 108 (1969, no. 2), 87.

[38] See no. 7.

[39] No. 9.

9. (*SP* 387C). Found with no. 8, but not transferred to the Erzurum Museum, and by 1987 evidently lost.

Stele of local, brownish limestone, broken above. H. 2.02 m; L. 0.65 m; Th. 0.21 m. Careful letters 4.5–6 cm. The left border is formed by a spear; the right is blank. Above, in a semi-circular apse, a garland.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 28th July 1984, published *ZPE* 71 (1988), 171f., no. 2. Plate VIII.

D. M.
P. Turranio
P. f. Papir. Be-
luno Severo
> leg XV Apol
VI. h. pr., et. leg.
IIII Fl. V. pr. pos,
vix. ann. XLI
ex heredum
cur. Turranio(s)
Epaphrodeitos
lib eius

The *nomina* do not recur in eastern Pontus or Armenia Minor. Turranius Severus appears rather to be firmly associated with the Danube provinces. He came evidently from Cis-Alpine Gaul, from Bellunum, the modern Belluno, about fifty miles north of Venice; and his names are found in C. Turranius Severus, a retired soldier buried in Dalmatia.[40] Both of his legions guarded the Danube. IV Flavia formed part of the second century garrison of Moesia Superior.[41] And XV Apollinaris was stationed in Pannonia Superior. Like Iulius Martialis, Turranius Severus would seem to have joined the legion before its transfer to Satala under Trajan.[42]

VI and V, each immediately following the legionary name and separated by full stops in the text, probably refer to the sixth and fifth cohorts. Turranius' appointments were evidently *h(astati) pr(ioris) (optio)* in the sixth cohort of XV Apollinaris;[43] after service as *pr(inceps) pos(terior)* in the fifth cohort of IV Flavia.[44]

10. (*SP* 387D). Found with no. 8, and transferred with it to the Erzurum Museum.

Stele of local, brownish limestone, broken into two parts which do not join. The upper, H. 1.28 m; L. 0.66 m; Th. 0.20 m. Careful letters 5–8 cm. The top of the stone is missing. The lower, H. 1.03 m; L. 0.69 m; Th. 0.22 m. Letters 5.5–12.5 cm. The back is roughly worked. The text is set in a rectangular panel, bordered right by a pilaster, and left by a spear. Above are two busts in high relief of Mansuetus and Iulia; below, a dog. Although the two surviving parts come from an exceptionally large stone, several lines of text appear to be lost.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 28th July 1984, published *ZPE* 71 (1988), 172f., no. 3. Plate XIV.

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[40] *ILS* 4882, Scardona in Dalmatia.

[41] *ILS* 2288, Rome. Its companion in Moesia Superior, VII Claudia, took part in Trajan's campaigns *in expeditione [P]artica et Ar(meniaca)*, *AE* 1905, 163; cf Arrian, *Parthica*, frag. 80, and *ILS* 2083, Campania. See no. 7, n. 34.

[42] Nos. 8 and 7.

[43] Compare *ILS* 2345, Nicopolis in Egypt.

[44] Compare *ILS* 2446, Lambaesis. A centurion of V Macedonica *fuit ordine in sexta hastatus posterior,* and was buried near Comana Pontica, Mitford, *ZPE* 71 (1988), 176ff., no. 12.

D. M.
T. Flav. Tẹl
Mansuetus
Vir G leg
stip. XVIIII
[ann.] XXXA

Ị Iulia
sor. frat.
pientissim.
FC

A much abbreviated inscription.

L. 1 Probably Ter(etina).

L. 2/3 The *cognomen* is unknown in eastern Pontus and Armenia Minor. A namesake, T. Flavius Mansuetus, centurion of III Augusta, appears to have commanded a *numerus Palmyrenorum* in Numidia, perhaps under Marcus Aurelius.[45]

L. 4 Perhaps *(domo) Vir(uno), b(eneficiarius) leg(ati)*. Virunum lay beside the Dravus in Noricum, about forty miles east of Klagenfurt: suggesting that Mansuetus too transferred from the Danube with XV Apollinaris. For the abbreviation *b(eneficiarius)*, compare at Tokat P. Iulius Tryphon, B. Ἰουλίου Ceουήρου ὑπατικοῦ.[46]

11. (*SP* 387E). Found with no. 8, but not transferred to the Erzurum Museum, and by 1987 evidently lost.

Tall stele of local, brownish limestone, broken above. H. 1.99 m; L. 0.63 m; Th. 0.22 m. Worn letters 5.5–7 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 28th July 1984, published *ZPE* 71 (1988), 173, no. 4. Plate VIII.

D. M.
Flaviae
Valentịnae
vixit annis
XXV Fl. Silvanus
uxori pientissi-
mae h. s. e.

Valentina is a name frequently found among legionary wives. Compare Aelia Valentina, daughter of P. Aelius Valens, tribune of XV Apollinaris at Kainepolis, probably under Marcus Aurelius.[47]

The *nomina* suggest an early date; her age that Flavia Valentina died under Domitian, or more probably under Trajan. If this is so, she is likely to have married Silvanus before Trajan's eastern campaigns. That her stele was discovered with three legionary inscriptions implies that her husband too was a soldier. He may of course have served in XVI Flavia Firma. But it seems on balance more likely that he and Valentina accompanied from Carnuntum those with whom she was buried.[48]

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[45] *ILS* 4339, cf 2625, el-Kantara, Numidia.

[46] The tribe at Virunum is normally Claudia, *ILS* 2113, Rome; cf 2248, Mainz. For Tryphon, see Mitford, *Byzantion* 36 (1966), 472f.

[47] *SEG* 15, 839, Eçmiadzin.

[48] The same journey was perhaps made by Iulia Aequa, no. 17.

For Silvanus, compare the priest of Zeus Epikarpios at Çorum, in an inscription probably of AD 144/5.[49]

12. (*SP* 388). In 1894 built into the living room in the house of Baloğlu Hasan (as no. 25); in 1900, and still in 1964 but evidently resited, built into the outside of the western wall enclosing the forecourt of the mosque.

Slab of pinkish limestone, complete below and apparently on each side, but by 1964 broken above and top left. The surface is very worn, and traces of only four lines survive towards the bottom of the stone. H. 1.02 m; L. 0.73 m; Th. uncertain, but probably c. 0.23 m. Letters 5–6 cm. "Un espace blanc sépare les mots" (Cumont, who recorded H. 1.27 m; L. 0.68 m; Th. 0.23 m; letters 4 cm).

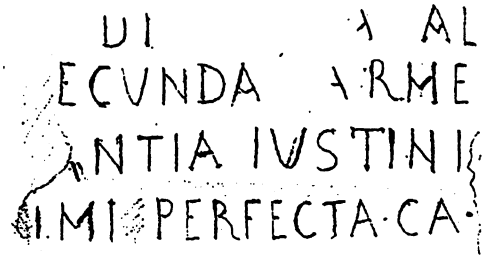
Copies

a. of Hogarth and Yorke in 1894 "in a very bad light, and impossible to have it moved" (consequently the readings are doubtful), published Yorke, *JHS* 18 (1898), 323, no. 40; cf. CIL 3, 13630.

b. of Cumont with a photograph (Plate 12) 4th June 1900.

c. of TBM with squeeze 18th August 1964.

Text of TBM. Drawing from Cumont's notebook. Plate XIII.



ọṭ . ẹ ạịạị

ẹcunda [c]ọṇ[s]ṭ

ạntia iusṭ . ạ . .

ỊMI ṗerfecta ÇAṢ

The stone is rather wider than the normal in tombstones at Satala, and may have been smoothed or recut on both sides. But the dimensions suggest that the inscription was funerary. The letters may be as late as Severus. But the inscription is evidently not Justinianic, for by then Greek would invariably be expected at Satala.

Restorations have hinged on the reading in L. 3.

a. *ntia*, which is correct, suggested to the Corpus *ala Secunda Armeniaca instantia Iustini viri clarissimi perfecta castra*. Hogarth's copy offers no improvement.

b. *contra*, read by Cumont, but not supported by the squeeze, suggested to Heuten

di . . . . m al[ae
S]ecunda[e] Arme[n(iorum)
co]ntra Iustini . . .
. . .]imi(t) perfecta ca[ede, or *ca[stigatione*, or *ca[ptivitate hostium]*, or *ca[erimonia]*.

He construed the words beginning with *perfecta* as an ablative absolute, and concluded "L'inscription semble être le récit de sa mission, fait par un officier envoyé contre Justini(anus?), commandant de troupes révoltées, ou au service d'un prétendant à l'empire."

Both restorations introduce an *ala Secunda Armeniaca* or *Armeniorum*. Arrian's army certainly included mounted Armenian archers, who have not been identified with a known auxiliary unit. The Notitia records an *ala II Armeniorum* in the Oasis Minor in Egypt.[50]

The squeeze, however, does not support letters consistent with any reference to *Armeniaca* or *Armeniorum*. Indeed, if an *ala* is in question, it is easier to reconstruct traces of, for example, *ala II*

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[49] *SP* 189, Çorum.

[50] Ἔκταξις 29; Armenian hoplites also formed a part of the allied contingent, ibid., 7 and 14. *ND* 25, A, 9; cf. Ritterling, *RE* 12, 1457, s.v. legio Secunda Armeniaca; and Orgeval, *L'Empereur Hadrien* (Paris 1950), 371.

Auriana, the regiment at Dascusa; or *ala nuper constituta*, listed in the Armenian section of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.[51]

In contrast, the text seems much more likely to be a standard funerary dedication, a woman's tombstone. Words like *Secunda* (her *cognomen*), *constantia* (which seems certain), *iustitia* (if real trace existed of the letters which created Iustin and his exploits), and *perfecta* combine to suggest something less dramatic than the sense normally read into this stone. It appears to be a tribute, perhaps of the second century, by a man whose name and status are lost, to a woman who was no doubt his wife; who was perhaps called Iulia Secunda; and who possessed an assortment of virtues, of which one was *constantia*. As a *cognomen*, Secundus appears twice in eastern Pontus: at Sebastopolis, the Governor of Cappadocia, Statorius Secundus; and at Sunisa, at the western end of the plain of Niksar (Neocaesareia), T. Caelia Secunda.[52]

13. (*SP* 389). Evidently from the village (cf. *SP* 2, 351).

Traces of red survived in the letters.

Copy of William Everett, English Consul in Kurdistan, sent to Gustav Hirschfeld, and published *Eph. Ep.* 5 (1884), 36; cf. CIL 3, 6744; Bücheler, *Carmina Epigraphica*, 418.

Drawing from CIL.

C
IVN
NAE D
ATTICA DIS DA
TA SVM TVRBA
COMITATA
MEORVM
ROMA MIHI TEL
LVS GENVS IN
DE SET HOSPI
TA SEDES

. . . [Atticae] C . . .
Iun[ianus femi]-
nae d[ignissimae].
Attica dis da-
ta sum turba
comitata
meorum.
Roma mihi tel-
lus; genus in-
de, se[d] hospi-
ta sedes

L. 4. Everett was uncertain of the first *T*.

The Corpus observes "nempe hospita terra Armenia Romanae mulieri sedem aeternam dedit". Compare Venuleia Irene, *domo Roma*, buried at Sebastopolis.[53] A greek metrical inscription at Neocaesareia was the tombstone of a man from Olympia.[54]

L. 5–7. Compare Cornelia, *turba comitata meorum*;[55] and a doctor who died abroad and was brought back to his home at Nicopolis.[56]

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[51] *ILS* 2535, Pingan (Zimara). *ND* 38, 26, *ala prima praetoria nuper constituta*.

[52] *SP* 282, Sebastopolis = Mitford, *ZPE* 87 (1991), no. 1. *SP* 332, Sunisa, unpublished. Secunda is found as a *nomen* near Amaseia, *SP* 235.

[53] *SP* 301 = *IGR* 3, 117 and 1442; Mitford, *ZPE* 87 (1991), no. 28.

[54] *SP* 338A, unpublished.

[55] Propertius 5, 98; Ovid, *Met.* 6, 594, *turba . . . comitata*; and Verg., *Aen.* 2, 580.

[56] *SEG* 6, 798. Compare also the inscription by the rock-cut *heroon* overlooking Amaseia, *SP* 103.

14. (*SP* 390). In 1894 built into the house wall of Suleiman Selim Çavus. By 1900 the stone had been turned back to front.

Altar.

Copy of Hogarth and Yorke in 1894, published Yorke, *JHS* 18 (1894), 323f.; cf. CIL 3, 13629.

Drawing from Hogarth and Yorke in *JHS*.

GEN · CoL	COR	Gen(io) col-	Cor(ona)
LE · FECIT		le(gii) fecit	
. .)N · S · F		. . . on s(igni)f(er)	

The single word *cor(ona)* is inscribed on another face of the same altar, beneath a garland.

Hogarth restored *Gen(io) col(oniae)/le(gio) fecit/. . . s(acris) f(aciundis)*. But the restoration of the Corpus adopted here seems preferable. For there is no evidence that a colony was ever established at Satala; nor was money struck there. *Le* is not the normal abbreviation for *legio*, and reference to a magistrate *sacris faciundis* in a distant πόλις cannot readily be supported.

sf is perhaps an abbreviation for *signifer*.[57]

The text must be treated with some reserve. Hogarth did not have the opportunity to verify his copies against squeezes. Where stones have survived and comparison has been possible, his texts can normally be improved.

Yorke notes "we also found a milestone in the village, but it is in such bad condition that little more than the letters IMP could be made out".

15. (*SP* 390A). Forming a step in the outside staircase leading to the *misafir oda* of the teacher Dursun Göz, some fifty metres west of the mosque.

Stele of white limestone, broken below. A moulding survives on both sides of the text, with a triangular moulding above. H. 0.74 m; L. 0.41 m; Th. 0.19 m. Letters 7 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate VIII.

D. M.
Ermeti ḷi(berto)
Iul. Procu-
ḷus (centurio) . . .

L. 1 Several readings – *Ermeti li[b]*, *Ermeti l(iberto) L(ucius)*, or *Ermetili* – cannot be excluded. And Syme compares the name Hermetidius.[58] But Hermes is a very common name for *liberti*, and the form *Ermeti* can be supported.[59] The abbreviation *li(bertus)* is listed by Cagnat.

L. 3 Of the fifth letter of the *cognomen*, only the tip of a hasta survives: it must be V or L. *Procu/lus* is an obvious solution; the name is common,[60] whereas Procl/ius is not found in *RE*, and *Procu[le]/ius* is too long for the stone.

L. 4 Traces of a fourth letter, perhaps O or C, appear on the squeeze. Professor Richmond suggested a centurial sign. Iulius Procu[lus], a centurion of XII Fulminata, is known at Trapezus. He may be the same man, honouring his freedman who died at Satala while on a journey to or from Melitene.[61]

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[57] Cf *ILS* 2198, Rome, *Secundinio Vero s. f. equi. sing. imp. n.*

[58] *PIR* 2, H. 143, governor of Judaea in AD 93.

[59] *M. Antio Hermeti*, *ILS* 8463, Rome; and *Ermetis Mat(idiae) Auq(ustae) (servi)*, *ILS* 8623, Etruria (?). Cf *Lucil(ii?) Ermet(is)*, CIL 14, 5244, Ostia, of AD 149. The *nomen* is known near Neoclaudiopolis, in eastern Pontus, *SP* 59.

[60] Cf *RE* 10, 783f, sv Iulius Proculus, nos. 412–21.

[61] CIL 3, 6745.

16. (*SP* 390B). Found in 1963 close to no. 18, some three hundred metres south of the ancient fountain, on the hillside dominating the fortress. Now built into a wall beside the house of Yusuf Erdoğan, the highest in the village.

Fragment of cream coloured limestone, complete left beside the surviving line. The original surface and edges are otherwise completely destroyed. H. 0.34 m; L. 0.42 m; Th. 0.28 m. Careful letters 4.5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate XIII.

EM.ET.VEXIL

Perhaps *[per cohort]/em et vexil[lationem]* (?). But the fourth letter may be I. Professor Richmond suggested a reference to an irregular detachment of cavalry, of the type found attached to cohorts in the third century: as, for example, the *vexillatio Germanorum* at Old Penrith.[62] But the letters are typical of second century work. A building inscription by a *vexillatio* is inappropriate in the legionary fortress. The stone is probably a fragment from a funerary inscription, of a man whose career included service in a vexillation.[63]

It seems unlikely that this stone was removed from the mosque, even if rebuilt since 1900 (see no. 3).

17. (*SP* 391). Lying near where it was found in 1954, outside the house of Yaşar Çelik, some four hundred metres north-west of the mosque.

Stele of white limestone, broken above and below. The back is rough. The text is set in a panel between mouldings. H. 1.08 m; L. 0.67 m; Th. 0.20 m. Letters 7 cm, some with surviving traces of red.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate IX.

[Iuli]a[e] Aequae
vixit an. XXI
coniugi univ-
irae piissimae
pientissimae
P. Iul. Hylas
maritus
eius V. M.

L. 1 Of the first letter of the *cognomen*, Aequae, the squeeze shows only the lower tip of the second hasta. But it suggests the outline of A.

L. 6 *Hylas* seems best to fit the letter traces, *Gelos* less well.[64]

L. 8 *V(ovit) M(onumentum)*, or *V(otum) M(eritae)*.

Letter forms and style suggest a date in the early or mid second century. For all her virtues, Iulia Aequa did not long survive at Satala. This, and perhaps the curious epithet *univira*, may imply that life at the fortress had not yet become settled. As has been suggested of Flavia Valentina, Iulia Aequa too may have accompanied her husband from Carnuntum.[65]

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[62] Haverfield, *Eph. Ep.* 9, 65.

[63] For the detachment of legionary vexillations at strategic points north and east of the *limes*, see no. 7.

[64] For Gelos, compare *ILS* 8064, Rome, and 6579, Veii.

[65] No. 11.

18. (*SP* 391A). Found in 1963 with no. 16. Now built into an adjacent garden wall beside the same house.

Block of light coloured limestone, presumably a stele, broken above, and with a moulding 10cm wide on each side of the panel. H. 0.80 m; L. 0.58 m; Th. 0.21 m. Letters 4 cm, very badly weathered, but retaining traces of red paint.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate IX.

AṂṌ
Ḅ̣E.Ọ̣ Tẏaṇạ
vix. an. L̤X̤. .
Iul. Ḥeṇ[o]ṇ et
5 Iụ̣l. Ẓo[s]ịus
pạṭrono bene
merenti

L. 1 Perhaps [Iulio . . . i]ano, the end of their patron's *cognomen.*

L. 2 The first letter may be H or P, but the traces suggest *BE.O Tyana*, or perhaps BE[N]ETIANO. Nevertheless, *domo Tyana* should probably be read.[66]

L. 3 LX. . or LV. .

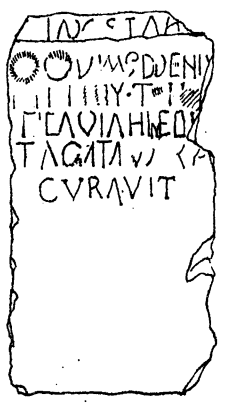
L. 4 The first letter of the *cognomen* appears to be H or B; the third, N or K. The name is, nevertheless, perhaps Zenon or Menon.

The date is probably early or mid second century. It is interesting to find at Satala a native apparently of a more civilised part of Cappadocia, with his two freedmen. The centurion Iulius Proculus remembered his freedman, also with a Greek name.[67]

19. (*SP* 392). In 1900 built into a wall to the south of the village. In 1972 built into the outside corner of the *misafir oda* of Ihsan Korkut, some fifty metres west of the mosque, and three metres above the ground.

Stele (?) of coarse brown limestone, cut above and probably broken right. The face is worn, and a groove has been cut below and through the top line. H. 0.81 m; L. 0.49 m; Th. 0.29 m (Cumont, 0.43 m). Letters 3.7–5 cm.

Copy and photograph of Cumont 4th June 1900. Copy and squeeze of TBM 2nd November 1972. Text of TBM. Drawing of Cumont after his notebook and photograph. Plate IX.



ạṇṇos LVII
coniugi ben[e]
merenti
Flạvia Helẹ[na]
5 faciẹndum
curavit

[66] Compare no. 13.

[67] No. 15.

L. 4 Perhaps Helio[.

Cumont's photograph shows that the whole face of the stone was very badly worn. Dessau, examining it, wrote to Cumont "Je ne puis rien tirer de ce texte sauf la dernière ligne", and could read only

L. 3 . . . TIA
L. 5 TACIT . . . . . .

Heuten, however, restored from the photograph

. . . . . fidens
. . . per euntia
fea tr. mil. leg.
faciendum
5 curavit

The dimensions, and the last two lines, suggest that Cumont's "bloc cubique de calcaire" was the stone found in 1972. But his estimation or measurement of thickness was incorrect, and the stone appears to have been the lower part of a stele, perhaps slightly thicker than normal. It is evidently the epitaph of a discharged soldier, or, by his age, of a serving centurion. The *nomen* Flavia suggests an early date.[68]

20. (*SP* 392A). Provenance not recorded. Presumably from the village.

Stone type and dimensions not recorded.

Copy of Hogarth in 1894, published Yorke, *JHS* 18 (1898), 322, no. 28. Cf. CIL 3, 13632.

Drawing from Hogarth in *JHS*.

. . IVS AMMON	[C. Iul]ius Ammon-
IVSE . CIVLI	ius e[t] C. Iuli[us]
RVS . . . . SF . AT	Rus[ticu]s f[r]at[res]

Probably two freedmen, their *cognomina* do not recur in Pontus or Armenia Minor.

21. (*SP* 393). At the edge of a threshing floor, some two hundred metres south east of the mosque.

Limestone block, broken above and right. Probably complete below, although the lowest line is very cramped. The back is rough. H. 0.41 m; L. 0.49 m; Th. 0.215 m. Letters 8 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 17th August 1964. Plate XIV.

. . vixit
an]nos <s> ex.
subrex-
it Iunia A-
5 lbannis libe

The text is obscure, the letters unusually large. If this is a tombstone, five or six letters may be missing right, and four or five lines above. It is perhaps mistaken to attempt to make consecutive sense out of the surviving letters.

L. 1 Apparently *vixit*. But the last letter may be E.

L. 2 *Annos* is usually abbreviated *an(nos)* at Satala; the number normally indicated by a figure rather

[68] The text and broad dimensions recall other early, probably legionary tombstones at Satala: compare nos. 11 and 17.

than written in full. The text is perhaps to be restored *an]/no sext[o*; or may conceal a name in the dative. The top of a vertical hasta can be seen after X.

L. 3 *Subrexit* (?), perhaps derived from *surgo*.

L. 5 The squeeze suggests IHNNSIIBE; the last three letters perhaps TRF.

22. (*SP* 393A). In the forecourt of the village school, forming the end of a low wall.

Block of yellowish limestone, apparently complete, but badly worn above and left. The bottom line is broken. At the top, traces of a moulding. H. 0.74 m; L. 0.58 m; Th. at least 0.64 m. Careful letters 8 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate IX.

A . . M
A . B . MEHE
equae
MANMAMA
5 . . . . .

L. 3 Perhaps *A]equae*, a *cognomen* known at Satala.[69] Or *quae [et* = ἡ καί.

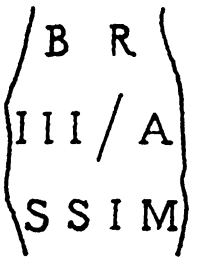
L. 4 Perhaps ME, followed by *(?)ntia ma[ter]*.

The stone is far too thick to have been a tombstone. The dimensions, and the traces of a moulding, suggest a statue base, or part of a building inscription.

23. (*SP* 393B). "In the house of Schamluoğlu".

Fragment. Stone type and dimensions not recorded.

Copy of Hogarth in 1894, published CIL 3, 13633. Drawing from CIL.



. . . . . br. .
. . [c]a[ri]
ssim . . .

The text is evidently in Latin, and is therefore almost certainly pre-Christian, and probably funerary. The apparent superlative recalls *pientissimus* in three early *stelae* with legionary associations at Satala; and suggests a restoration . . . *[f]r(atri) [c]a[ri]ssim[o]* . . ., or . . . *[uxo]r[i c]a[ri]ssim[ae]* . . .[70]

24. (*SP* 394). Found among old gravestones at Sheikh Kassem, about one hour south east of Satala, in the high valley of the Lycus (probably the Sadak Çay). "This stone from our subsequent discoveries must have heen procured from the ruins of Saddack "Sattala" close to".

"One (old grave stone) bearing part of a Latin inscription." Type, dimensions and condition of the stone are not recorded.

Copy of Taylor in 1866, recorded *JRGS* 38 (1868), 286. Cf. CIL 3, 14184/4.

---

[69] No. 17.

[70] Nos. 10, 11 and 17. *Carissimus* is not found elsewhere in eastern Pontus or Armenia Minor. Hogarth may have misread *piissim*, as in no. 17; and see no. 14.

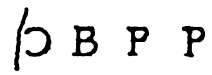
DEIIV

The restoration of the Corpus, *Dei Iu(lii ?)*, is unconvincing. The text perhaps read *D. M./Iu(lius)*. The standard opening formula in legionary tombstones at Satala, *D(is) M(anibus)*, would suggest that the stone is military, the name that it is early.

25. (*SP* 394A). "In the house of Baloğlu Hassan" (as no. 12).

Stone type and dimensions not recorded.

Copy of Hogarth in 1894, published CIL 3, 13634. Drawing from CIL.



OBPPET

If the recorded letters are correct, the text must contain an abbreviation, it seems, for *primopilus*, or *Pater Patriae*.

Primopilus, followed presumably by the name of a legion, would suggest a military, perhaps equestrian *cursus*. But the surrounding letters, OB and ET, do not readily fit.

Pater Patriae would link the titles of one Emperor with those of another: for example, Hadrian and Aelius Caesar. Assuming that Hogarth read B in error for S, the fragment might thus be restored to contain the last words of the first titulary: for example, *[imp . . . Hadr. Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. c]os. p. p., et [imp. T. Ael. Caes. Antonino . . .*[71]

26. (*SP* 395). Found in c. 1952 near the ruins of the fortress wall, in the centre of the northern part of the fortress. In 1964 serving as a bench outside the house of Cemil Nahir, some two hundred metres west of the mosque, and beside the house of Mumtaz Nahir (no. 43).

Block of soft, whitish limestone, broken above and below. The sides are complete, with a moulding, of which worn traces survive above the text. The back is smooth. The inscription is complete, but badly worn right. H. 1.22 m; L. 0.75 m; Th. 0.25 m. Letters 5 cm, some with traces of red.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964, published *JRS* 64 (1974), 170f, no. 6. Plate X.

Κούσπι̣[ον]
Φαβιανὸ̣[ν]
κορνι̣(κουλάριον) κ̣α̣ὶ̣ (ἑκατόνταρχον) τ̣ο̣ῦ̣
ἡγεμόν̣ο̣[ς]
[Κ]ουσ̣[πία] γυ̣ν̣ὴ̣
ζήσ̣α̣ν̣τα [πά]ν̣τ̣α
ἀμέμπτ̣ω̣ς
τὸν βίον

The layout and closing formula suggest the second century. If so, this is the earliest Greek inscription known from Satala. It is evidently military, for it mentions a legate, and perhaps his *cornicularius* or *cornicen*. Unfortunately, the right hand portion of each line was already badly worn by 1964, and the text cannot be restored with any certainty. By 1972 the surface had been almost entirely obliterated.

L. 3 The text appears to read KOPNIKΛIMNAI. The letters KOPNHΛAMNOY are also possible. The symbol I may be preferred to M, for μ is used elsewhere in the text. It is tempting to restore κορνι(κουλάριον) or κορνίκην, and to explain the symbol as a centurial sign. The former is closer to

[71] Compare *ILS* 8909, Dacia Inferior. For Hogarth's readings, see no. 14.

the letter traces, and the line should perhaps read κορνι(κουλάριον) καὶ (ἑκατόνταρχον) τοῦ | ἡγεμόνο[ς].[72] A *cornicularius* would serve in the *officium legati legionis* in the legionary headquarters; or as one of three secretaries, under a centurion as *princeps officii*, on the staff of the Governor of Cappadocia.[73] But an alternative, and perhaps easier restoration is Κορνηλιανόν, a distinguished name found twice in eastern Pontus.[74] The following line should then be restored in the accusative, to reveal Cuspius Fabianus Cornelianus as, presumably, legionary legate. Such unwieldy names were not uncommon.[75] But for this interpretation the stone might appear rather too modest.

L. 4 Four or five letters may be lost from the end of the line.

L. 5 The text appears to read ΠΟΥΒΟΥΟΥΝϹ or ΠΟΥ . ϢϹΚϢ.

The two lines may be expected to contain the legate's command, whether legionary or provincial: the surviving letter traces suggest, for example, [λεγ. ιε′ Α]|[π]ολ. Or – possibly and – they may contain the name(s) of the person commemorating Cuspius, with a noun to show the relationship. If Cuspius is to be restored as his *cornicularius*, word order precludes the name of the legate.

L. 6 The text appears to read ΡΟΝΑ at the end of the line.

27. (*SP* 395A). Forming a bench outside the house of Hamit Yeğin, some two hundred metres north of the mosque.

Block of pinkish limestone, broken above; with a moulding left, right, and preserved in outline below. The panel is narrowed top left by a subsidiary moulding. The centre of the stone is badly worn. H. 0.60 m; L. 0.66 m; Th. 0.21 m. Large, well cut letters 7–8 cm. Three lines may be lost at the beginning of the text, which is complete below, for a vine leaf follows the final line.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 16th August 1965. Plate X.

ϢΙ
ΒΙϢϹΗΤΙ
ΠΟΤΛΑϹΑ
ΠΟΑΙ μν-
η[μεῖ]ον ἀν-
έστησε

Five lines are preserved, and at the top of the stone are traces of a sixth.

The dimensions, and concluding formula, suggest that the stone was funerary. The text apparently contains many ligatures, and cannot be restored with conviction. It may have started

L. 1–2 Perhaps, for example, [Ἰουλίῳ Σευήρ]|ῳ τ[ῷ συμ]|βίῳ or τ]ῷ ἀ[νδρὶ].

L. 2–4 Perhaps βιώσα⟨ν⟩τι | πολλὰ ἐα|[υτῷ].

---

[72] Compare *ILS* 8880, Arabia, βφ . . . καὶ κορνικουλάριος καὶ ἑκατόνταρχος γενόμενος τῆς ἡγεμο(νίας); and CIG 3, 4453.

[73] Dobson – v. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, 29 and 38.

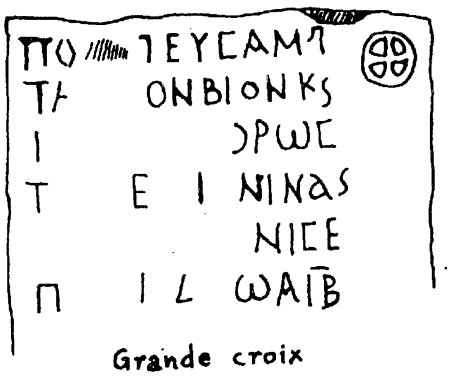
[74] *SP* 96, above the entrance to a grotto and spring, an hour from Amaseia; and Mitford, *ZPE* 87 (1991), no. 12, Sebastopolis.

[75] Compare the consul of AD 142, L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus; and L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus, governor of Armenia Major under Trajan, associated with a Fabius (?) on a fragmentary inscription at Zimara, Mitford, *JRS*, 171f, no. 7. For the general form of the inscription, compare, near Amaseia, *SP* 157B; and, for the concluding formula, near Çorum, *SP* 221.

28. (*SP* 396). In the cemetery, presumably of the mosque.

Large stele of white sandstone, broken above. Below the text a large cross. H. 1.07 m; L. 0.71 m; Th. 0.12 m. Letters 4 cm.

Copy of Cumont 6th June 1900. Tracing from his notebook.



πο[λι]τευσάμε[νος]
πά[ντα τ]ὸν βίον καὶ
I ΟΡΩΣ
T E I NINAS
5 ΝΙΣΕ
Π I L ΩAIB

Cumont does not offer a text, but suggests
L. 1 πολιτευσάμενος.
L. 2 τὸν βίον καὶ.
L. 4 Perhaps Μινᾶς, a proper name.[76]

29. (*SP* 397). In the hearth of a house.

Stone, broken above and right, and blackened by soot. H. 0.45 m; L. 0.22 m. Letters 5 cm.

Copy of Cumont 4th June 1900. Tracing from his notebook.

Τερε[ντιανὸς]
Τερε[ντιανοῦ]
ευρο
Βίβιο[ς]
5 Τριλ
BA
MAC

Cumont does not offer a text, but suggests
L. 1–2 Τερεντιανὸς Τερεντιανοῦ.
L. 4 Βίβιος; evidently Vibius.[77]

---

[76] Compare at Sarian, near Yildizeli, Cumont, *Byzantion* 6 (1931), 531, no. 4; at Nicopolis, the *primicerius* of numerus Mattiacorum seniorum, Grégoire, *BCH* 30 (1909) 34, no. 12; and at Gorneae (Garni, near Yerevan), the mason (?) Menneas, *SEG* 15, 836, perhaps of AD 76/7.

[77] For the spelling, compare in eastern Pontus *SP* 118, 179 and 263, where Bictorius, Beriane and Beratius are all pagan, and appear to date from the late second or early third centuries; and perhaps in Armenia Major, Christian and seemingly of the same period, Baleria, daughter of Balerios, Macler, *Nouv. Arch. Miss. Orient.* 19 (2, 1910), 5 and fig. 1.

30. (*SP* 397A). Found in fields in 1956 at the north end of the village, some four hundred metres from the mosque.

Rectangular block of white limestone. The inscribed face is convex in the vertical plane, and is broken left and top left. H. 0.44 m; L. 0.90 m; Th. 0.57 m. Letters 5–5.5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate XIV.

]υ̣θωνι
Εὐ]φρόνιος
]α̣νω πέριξ τε̣
] π̣άσας δ' ἄμειψα̣
φιλον]εικειν μονι̣

L. 3 The final letter is perhaps A or Δ.

The block, fairly smooth on all sides, was clearly one of a series extending horizontally along the foot (?) of a large public monument. The inscription is perhaps metrical, the date late second century. But Mr. P. M. Fraser has suggested a date in the third or fourth centuries.

31. (*SP* 398). Found in 1960 with no. 32, during excavations in an ancient cemetery about one hundred metres south of the remains of the "aqueduct". In 1964 under a sofa in the front room of the house of Suleiman Koç, in the south eastern part of the village.

Stele of grey granite, complete. Below the text a large cross, surrounded by bunches of grapes. H. 1.02 m; L. 0.64 m; Th. 8 cm. Letters 3–5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 17th August 1964. Plate XI.

† Ξένε, καθορῶν σ-
υνπάθησον τοῖς ἀ-
ποβάλλουσιν· μνή-
ματα γὰρ ἀδελφῶν
νέων τὰ συναμ-
φότερα· ἡ δὲ πρεσ-
βῦτης ἐνθάδε, τὴν
μετ' αὐτὴν οὐδὲ με-
τὰ μώρον λιποῦ-
σα, ἐτελιώθη ἰν-
δικτ$_{s}$ ἕκτι, Μ̿ Σεπτεμ-
βρ$_{s}$, ἣ ἔνθα κατάκιτε
ἡ ἄωρος Μαρία

L. 4 ἀδελφῶν sisters.

L. 7 Read πρεσβῦτις. 7–10: She did not leave her younger sister, not even after death.

L. 9 Read μόρον.

L. 11 Dating by indictions, found sporadically in the eastern provinces from the time of Diocletian, became the official usage when Justinian discontinued the consulship in AD 542.[78]

Maria is the older sister. The other memorial is, presumably, the epitaph of Theodora.[79]

---

[78] Compare no. 32; at Trapezus, CIG 8636; and MRE Gough, *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955), 116f. For the abbreviation μη(νός), cf. Mitford, *Byzantion* 20 (1950), 119, no. 5, and 141, no. 12; and Lebas–Waddington 2763 and 2765, of the seventh century.

[79] No. 32.

32. (*SP* 398A). Found with no. 31 in 1960. In 1964 lining a hearth in the house of Suleiman Koç, who kindly allowed the stone to be uncovered.

Stele of grey granite, apparently complete. Below the inscription are shapes resembling palm trees. H. 1.46 m; L. 0.53 m; Th. c. 8 cm. Letters 3–6.5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 17th August 1964. Plate XII.

† Ἀρτὶ γένεσε λαχὸν
βρέφος, μηπὼ γνούς
τι τῶν ἐν βίῳ, τῆς δὲ τοῦ
θανάτου τυραννησάσης
ἀνάγκης, τότε τοὺς τε-
κόντας ἔλιπον ὅτε
θάλπειν ἤμελλον· τε-
τελιῶμαι δὲ ὀκταή-
της· μὴν δέ μοι τῆς τε-
λεύτης Ἰούλιος, ἐπι-
νέμησις πέμπτη. ἔνθα
κατάκιτε ἡ ἀωρὸς
Θεοδώρα

This and the preceding epitaph reveal the location of the Byzantine cemetery at Satala.

Theodora died even younger than Iulia Aequa. Her name is found twice again at Satala, and twice in eastern Pontus.[80]

L. 10 ἐπινέμησις = ἰνδικτίων.[81]

33. (*SP* 399). In the hall of a house close to no. 42, on the south west side of the village.

Stone, broken right. H. 0.56 m; L. 0.33 m. Letters 3.5 cm.

Copy of Cumont 6th June 1900. Tracing from his notebook.

† Ἔνθα [κεῖτε]
ἡ μακαρ[ία]
παρθέν[ος πλη]-
ρώσασα [μέτρον]
ἐτῶν I

L. 1 Perhaps [κατάκιτε].

L. 2 Perhaps μακαρ[ιωτάτη].

L. 3/4 Compare at Amisos *SP* 14A, κε′ ἔ(τη) πληρώσασα.

---

[80] No. 34; and, with a different spelling, no. 35. Compare at Neoclaudiopolis, *SP* 83; and near Euchaita, *SP* 223. For Iulia Aequa, see no. 17.

[81] Cf *RE* 1, 666, s.v. "Aera, Tafel der Indiktionen".

34. (*SP* 399A). Outside the front door of the house of Işmail Keles, some two hundred and fifty metres east of the mosque.

Tall stele of limestone, complete, but the surface chipped top left. H. 1.79 m; L. 0.66 m; Th. 0.13 m. Poorly formed letters 2–4.5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate X.

† Ἔνθα κατάκιτ-
ε ἡ ἄορος Θεοδώρα,
ἥτις ζήσασα ΕΗΤ
λυπὴ καὶ στεναγμῶ[ν]
οὐδενὶ ΟΚΑΙΚΙΔΕ
· ΟΙΔΕΝΟΘΕΝΕΤ ·
ΕΛΘΕΝΤΟΥΙ · ΔΙΝΟ
ΑΜΗΥΙΙΔΝΩ

The inscription is cut at the very top of the stele. The lower portion is blank. The last four lines are obscure.

L. 3 Evidently ἔτη.

L. 8 Perhaps Ἀμήν (as in no. 38); or μηνὶ Ἰουν⟨ί⟩ῳ.

35. (*SP* 399B). Forming the threshold of the house of Namludoğlu Bulut (the owner of no. 5), one hundred metres north of the mosque.

Slab of grey limestone, broken left, and obscured left by the door step. Below the inscription a large cross. H. 1.18 m; L. at least 0.35 m; Th. probably approx 0.05 m. Letters 3–5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 16th August 1965. Plate XI.

† Ἐνθά-
δε κατά-
[κ]ιτε ἡ ἄορος
[Θε]ωδόρα
[ἡ] ἀδελφί-
[σ]σα τοῦ ἡγου-
[μ]ένου
[Π]αύλου

L. 5/6 ἀδελφί may stand for ἀδελφή, spelled as it was pronounced. But this leaves unexplained the first three letters of the following line. The trace preceding CA could be the lowest hasta of almost any letter. It seems to be horizontal, and could best fit Ε or C. The form ἀδελφίσσα was probably used.

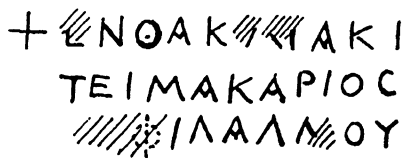
L. 6/7 Paulos was an abbot or prior, suggesting the existence of a monastery at Satala.[82]

[82] For Paulos' title, compare at Çorum *SP* 202; and near Zela, *SP* 275.

36. (*SP* 400). Provenance not precisely recorded.

Stele, crudely inscribed. Beneath the inscription a rose.

Copy of Hogarth in 1894, communicated to Cumont. Drawing of Hogarth.



Ἔνθα κα̣τάκι-
τει Μακάριος
[τοῦ] Φιλάν̣δ̣[ρ]ου

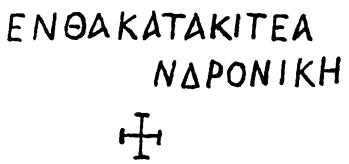
As a name, Makarios is unattested at Satala: elsewhere it is invariably an adjective applied to the deceased. It is, however, apparently found at Ergele, near Yildizeli; while Makaria seems certain in the plain of Niksar.[83] Alternatively, the reading may be κατάκιτε ⟨ὁ⟩ μακάριος Φίλανδρο⟨ς⟩ or, supposing the loss of a final line, κατάκιτε ⟨ὁ⟩ μακάριος [τοῦ] Φιλάνδρου [υἱῶν . . .].

Hogarth's rose is, presumably, a cross.[84]

37. (*SP* 400A). Provenance not precisely recorded.

Stele.

Copy of Hogarth in 1894, communicated to Cumont. Drawing of Hogarth.



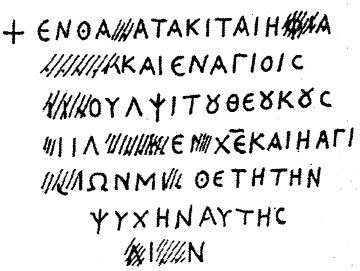
Ἔνθα κατάκιτε Ἀ-
νδρονίκη
†

Andronicus is restored near Neoclaudiopolis.[85]

38. (*SP* 401). In use in 1894 as a hearth stone. In 1900 in a stable.

Stele of brown limestone. A fragment, broken left and cut away right, was rediscovered by Cumont. Dimensions of the fragment H. 0.90 m; L. 0.35 m; Th. 0.06 m. Letters 6 cm.

Copies of Hogarth in 1894, and of Cumont 6th June 1900. Text after Hogarth's copy. Drawing of Hogarth.



† Ἔνθα [κ]ατάκιται ἡ μα-
[καρί]α καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις
ἡ δ̣ούλ[η] τοῦ θεοῦ Κουσ-
[τ]ιλ[λία] ἐν̣ Χ(ριστ)ὲ καὶ ἡ ἁγί-
[α . . . ἐτ]ῶν, μνήσθετι τὴν
ψυχὴν αὐτῆς.
Ἀ[μή]ν

L. 1 Cumont read . . . HMA only.

L. 4 Κουσ[τωδία] and Κουσ[ταντία] were suggested by Heuten. But Κουστιλλία or Κουσπιδία are easier restorations. And Κουσπία may also be possible.[86]

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[83] Cumont, *REG* 15 (1902), 320, no. 22; de Jerphanion,*MFO* 3 (1908), 444, no. 4.

[84] As, for example, in no. 43.

[85] *SP* 35B.

[86] Of the various restorations, only Cuspia, found at Satala in no. 26, is known in eastern Pontus and Armenia Minor.

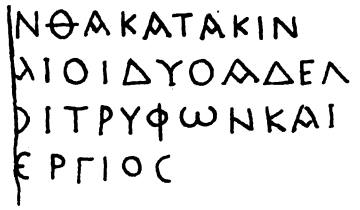
L. 5 μνήσθετι for μνήσθητι or μνήσθητε.

L. 7 *Amen* is found beside the Euphrates on the Byzantine bridge over the Arabkir Çay.[87]

39. (*SP* 402). Built into the window of a house (with no. 40).

Stone. H. 0.63 m; L. 0.59 m. "Encastrée dans le mur, une lettre manque. Gravée en caractères beaucoup plus beaux" (than no. 40, Cumont). Fine letters 4 cm.

Identical copies of Hogarth in 1894, and of Cumont, with a wax rubbing, 5th June 1900. Tracing from Cumont's notebook.



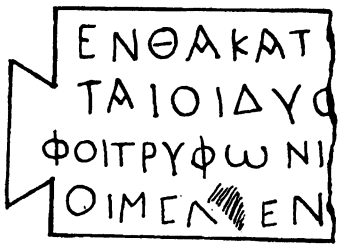
[Ἔ]νθα κατάκιν-
[τ]ạι οἱ δύο ἀδελ-
[φ]ọὶ Τρύφων καὶ
[Σ]έργιος

L. 1 κατάκινται. For the spelling, compare *SP* 12A, Amisos; and no. 40.

40. (*SP* 402A). Built into the window of a house (with no. 39).

Stone. H. 0. 42 m; L. 0.49 m. Irregular and poorly inscribed letters, 5 cm.

Identical copies of Hogarth in 1894, and of Cumont 5th June 1900. Tracing from Cumont's notebook.



Ἔνθα κατ[άκιν]-
ται οἱ δύọ [ἀδελ]-
φοὶ Τρύφων κ[αὶ]
οιμẹν . . εν

Compare no. 39. Although Sergius is apparently absent, there is no parallel in Pontus or eastern Cappadocia for a pair of inscriptions with almost identical texts.

L. 3 Heuten writes "peut-être "brouillon" avec oubli de Σέργιος". Tryphon recurs in eastern Pontus, at Amaseia and Comana.[88] But Sergius is not attested.

L. 4 Perhaps the intention was οἱ κεκοιμη]μέν[οι] ἐν [εἰρήνῃ].

[87] J. G. Taylor, *JRGS* 38 (1868), 314.

[88] At Amaseia, *SP* 121, of AD 172/3; at Comana, Mitford, *Byzantion* 36 (1966), 473.

41. (*SP* 403). In the graveyard (presumably beside the mosque), where Yorke noticed several other epitaphs, but judged them of little interest.

Stone type and dimensions not recorded.

Copy of Yorke in 1894, published *JHS* 18 (1898), 322, no. 37. Reviewed by Cumont, who confirmed Yorke's reading. Drawing from *JHS*.

ЄNΘΑΔЄΚΑΤΑ		'Ενθάδε κατά-
ΚΙΤЄΟΜΑΚΑ		κιτε ὁ μακά-
ΡΙΟCΑΝΔΡЄΑC		ριος 'Ανδρέας,
ΚЄΑΝΑΓЄΝΩC		κὲ ἀναγενώσ-
ΚΟ////ΤЄCЄΥΞΑC	5	κο[ν]τες εὔξασ-
ΤЄΥΠЄΡЄΜΟΥ		τε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ

L. 4/5 ἀναγενώσκοντες for ἀναγιγνώσκοντες (Yorke).[89]

The name Andreas recurs in a Christian inscription at Sebastopolis.[90]

42. (*SP* 404). At the edge of a chimney, on the roof of a house, close to no. 33, on the south west side of the village.

Fragment of limestone. H. 0.37 m; L. 0.43 m; Th. 0.12 m.

Copy of Cumont 6th June 1900. Tracing from his notebook.

		["Ενθα] κατά-
		[κ]ιτε ἐ μ-
		[ακ]αρία
		[καὶ] ἐν
	5	[ἁγίοις]

The name of the deceased is lost below.

43. (*SP* 404A). In the stable of Mumtaz Nahir, some two hundred metres west of the mosque, and beside the house of Cemil Nahir (no. 26).

Tall stele of greyish limestone. The inscription is set in a small ansate panel towards the top of the stone. Above, and towards the base, are two large crosses in relief, in circular panels. H. 1.88 m; L. 0.60 m; Th. 0.11 m. Letters 1.5–2.5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate XII.

		† "Ενθα κα-
		τάκ̣ι̣ται
		ὁ μακά-
		ριος Ἱερ̣ό̣-
	5	νιμ̣ο[ς]

The name Hieronimos, unattested in Pontus or eastern Cappadocia, is suggested by the reading in line 5. The squeeze allows this, but supports 'Ιαχ̣ιμ̣ος.

---

[89] For the formula, compare, at Nicopolis, Hogarth, *JHS* loc. cit., 325, no. 44.

[90] Mitford, *ZPE* 87 (1991), 229f., no. 37.

44. (*SP* 404B). In a house twenty metres west of the mosque.

Slab of sandstone, broken right and below. The top left corner and part of the lower right edge are complete. The inscription, incomplete right, is set in an ansate panel. H. 0.53 m; L. 0.50 m; Th. 4.5 cm. Letters 2–3 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 17th August 1964. Plate XV.

† Ἐνθα̣ κα̣τ̣[άκι]-
τε μακά̣[ρι]-
ος Κοτατί̣[α]-
νος †

The name is unclear. Perhaps *Qu(artus)* or *Qu(intus)*, or possibly *Co(rnelius) Tatianus*.

45. (*SP* 404C). In the house of Şerif Şahin, one hundred and fifty metres north east of the mosque.

Stele of reddish limestone, complete. The inscription is set in an ansate panel. Below, two arrows. H. 0.97 m; L. 0.46 m; Th. 8 cm. Letters 4–6 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 18th August 1964. Plate XI.

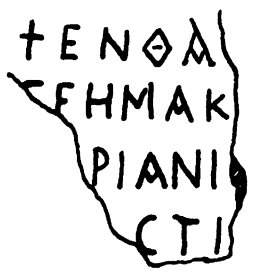
† Ἐνθα̣ κ-
ατάκιτε
ὁ μακάρι-
ος Λέον̣

Leon recurs as a *cognomen* on a fragment of a public monument near Nicopolis.[91]

46. (*SP* 405). In the hall of a house.

Fragment. H. 0.19 m; L. 0.22 m. Letters 3.5 cm.

Copy of Cumont 6th June 1900. Tracing from his notebook.



† Ἐνθα [κῖ]-
τε ἡ μακ[α]-
ρία Νι[κ]-
[ο]στρ̣[άτη]

The name is Christian.[92] Several bishops were called Nikostratus.

[91] Erected by Septimius Leon in AD 232, *SP* 362, Argawouz, unpublished; cf. *SP* 2, 313.

[92] Cf. CIG 3, 8219.

47. (*SP* 405A). In the house of Osman Nahir, with no. 7. Forming the back of the hearth, behind the fire.

Stele of local limestone, broken below and partially buried right. H. 0.37 m; L. at least 0.35 m; Th. at least 5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 2nd November 1972. Plate X.

† Ἔνθα κα[τ]-
άκιται ἡ [μ]-
ακαρία Μ-
αρία ἡ δούλ[η]
τοῦ ἁγίου Πα-
[ύλου]

L. 3 The reading μοναχὴ is also possible.

L. 5 Compare the abbot Paulos, no. 35

48. (*SP* 405B). In the house of Coskun Çelik, a hundred metres north of the mosque.

Fragment of a stele of hard dark limestone, broken right and below. The back is rough. H. 0.46 m; L. 0.46 m; Th. 0.12 m.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 2nd November 1972. Plate XIII.

† Ἐνθάδε κατά-
κιτε Γρεγόρι[ος]

A Christian Gregoria is known at Sebastopolis.[93]

49. (*SP* 405C). Found inside the eastern part of the fortress. In 1972 in the house of Niyazi Yeğin, beside no. 1, a hundred metres north west of the mosque.

Fragment of a stele of lightish coloured limestone, broken left, with a moulding below. H. 0.28 m; L. 0.20 m; Th. 5.5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 2nd November 1972.

[Ἔν]θα κα-
[τά]κιτε

†

50. (*SP* 405D), Dug up near the centre of the fortress some 40 years ago, and in 1996 cemented into a long seat outside the house of Mehmet Çelik, a hundred metres north east of the mosque.

Stele of whitish limestone, probably complete left, but evidently cut above and right, and buried below in cement. The back is very rough. H. 0.69 m; L. 0.66 m; Th. 0.15 m. Roughly cut letters, 4–5 cm.

Copy and squeeze of TBM 27th July 1996. Plate XV.

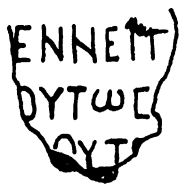
[93] *SP* 304 = Mitford, *ZPE* 87 (1991), no. 35.

τῶν ἀγαθῶν
καὶ N · N · M
τῶν εὐσεβῶν
πιος καὶ Φωκ[
νους ἀναπ[
υθεις ἀπιδοσ[
τῆδε δωτ[

51. (*SP* 406). Presented to Cumont by the owner of the *misafir oda*.

Fragment of limestone, broken on three sides. H. 0.16 m; L. 0.17 m; Th. 0.08 m. Letters 4 cm.

Copy of Cumont 5th June 1900. Tracing from his notebook.



- - εννειτ - -
- - ουτως - -
- - ουτο - -

52. (*SP* 406A). Forming a bridge over a small stream, outside a house seventy five metres east of the mosque.

Rectangular slab of limestone, broken below right. Traces of only five lines of text survive, towards the lower right part of the stone. H. 1.0 m; L. 0.80 m; Th. 0.22 m. Rough letters, very badly worn, 2–3 cm.

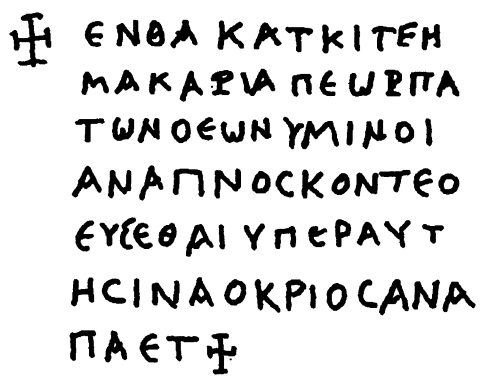
Copy and squeeze of TBM 17th August 1964. Plate XIII.

X . AMI
ΛΙΠΙΚΙ
KS

53. (*SP* 406B). Extracted from a Christian burial ground south east of the basilica, and shown to Biliotti in 1874.

Stele. Dimensions not recorded. Letters very coarsely cut.

Copy of Biliotti, attached to his Report (see n. 2).



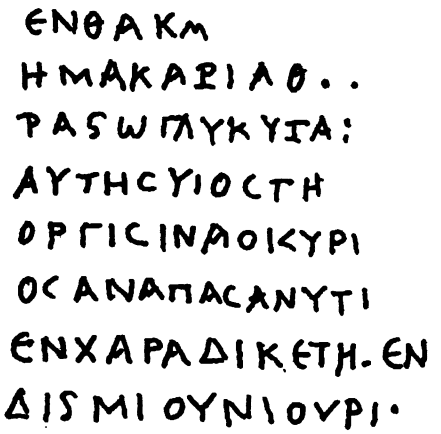
† Ἔνθα κατάκιτε ἡ
μακαρία Γεωργία
τῶν Θεῶν YMIN οἱ
ἀναγινόσκοντες
εὔξε[σ]θαι ὑπὲρ αὐτ-
ῆς INAOKPIOᶜANA
ΠAET †

Georgia recurs in a Christian epitaph at Nicopolis.[94] The text is strikingly similar, and brings to mind the direct link between fortress and city two days to the west, via the strategic road that led across the high Çimen Dağlari.

54. (*SP* 406C). Extracted from a Christian burial ground south east of the basilica, and shown to Biliotti in 1874. Now lost.

Stele, evidently broken right. Dimensions not recorded. Letters very coarsely cut.

Copy of Biliotti in September 1874, attached to his Report (see n. 2).



ЄNΘAKM		Ἔνθα κ(ατάκιτε)
HMAKAPIAΘ..		ἡ μακαρία Θ..
PASWΓΛYKYTA:		ρας ὁ γλυκύτα̣τ[ος]
AYTHCYIOCTH		αὐτῆς υἱὸς TH
OPΓICINAOIKYPI	5	OPΓICINA ὁ κυρι-
OCANAΠACANYTI		ος ANAΠACANYTI
ЄNXAPAΔIKЄTH.ЄN		ἐν χαρᾷ ΔIK ἔτη. ἐν-
ΔISMIOYNIOYPI·		δι(κτιόν)ι S μ(ηνὶ) Ἰουνίου PI.

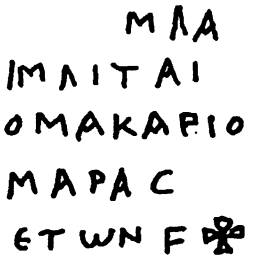
L. 2–3 Perhaps Theodora, frequently attested in Satala; cf. no. 32, of similar age and date.

L. 6–8 The restoration is suggested by a plaque found by Grégoire at Şar Yeri (? Dagalassos), near Nicopolis.[95]

55. (*SP* 406D). Extracted from a Christian burial ground south east of the basilica, and shown to Biliotti in 1874. Now lost.

Stele. Dimensions not recorded. Letters very coarsely cut.

Copy of Biliotti in September 1874, attached to his Report (see n. 2).



MΛA		[Ἔνθ]α κα-
IMΛITAI		τ̣ά̣κ̣ιται
OMAKAPIOC		ὁ μακάριος
MAPAC		Μάρας
ЄTWN F ✠	5	ἐτῶν F †

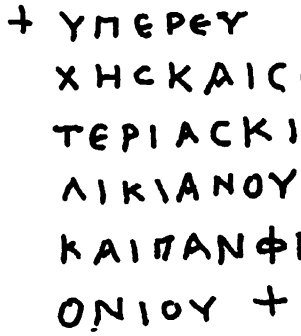
94 D. G. Hogarth, *JHS* 18 (1898) 325, no. 44 = *SP* 367. And cf. no. 57.

95 Grégoire, *BCH* 33 (1909), 39, no. 15, ἀναπαυσ|ά̣τω δὲ ἐνδ(ικτιόν)ι S′ | [N]ωεν[β]ρίω κθ.

56. (*SP* 406E). Evidently extracted from a Christian burial ground south east of the basilica, and shown to Biliotti in 1874. Now lost.

Sarcophagus. H. 0.38 m; L. 0.91 m; Th. 0.43 m. Letters very coarsely cut.

Copy of Biliotti in September 1874, attached to his Report (see n. 2).



† Ὑπὲρ εὐ-
χῆς καὶ σο-
τερίας Κι-
λικιάνου
καὶ Πανφρ-
ονίου †

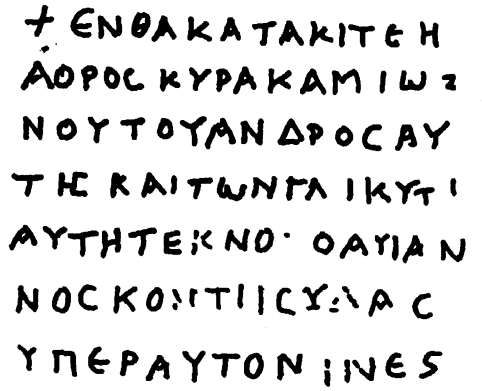
The names do not recur in Pontus or Armenia Minor.

No other small sarcophagi are known from Satala. But Biliotti saw "a Roman sarcophagus, coarsely cut out of a block of grey stone, . . . found outside the Northern wall, where the necropolis seems to have extended". And in 1987 a very large, uninscribed sarcophagus stood on the hillside west of the cistern, high above the fortress. By 1996 it had disappeared.

57. (*SP* 406F). Evidently extracted from a Christian burial ground south east of the basilica, and transported to Djourouzma (Çorosma), two hours east of Satala. Shown to Biliotti in 1874. Now lost.

Large slab. Dimensions not recorded. Letters very coarsely cut.

Copy of Biliotti in September 1874, attached to his Report (see n. 2, and Mitford, 230 and 235).



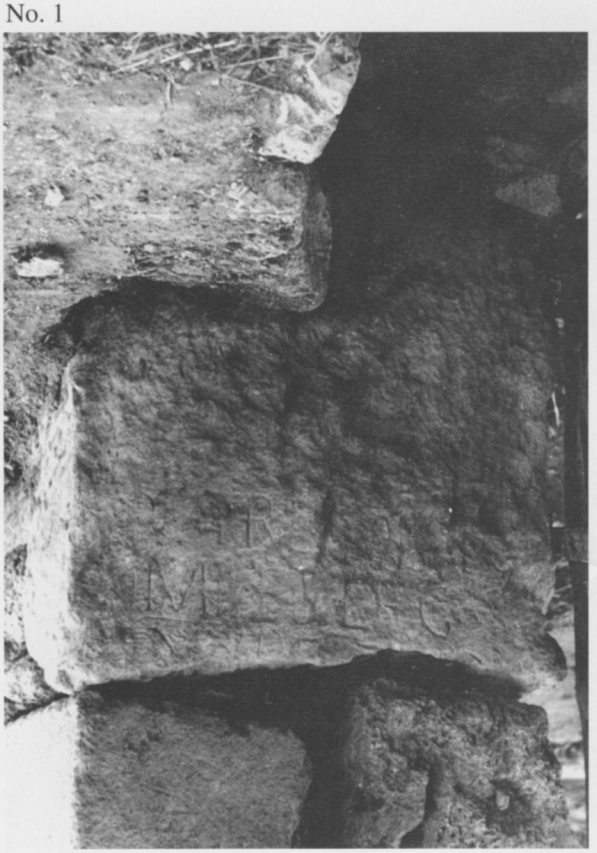
† Ἔνθα κατάκιτε ἡ
ἄορος ΚΥΡΑΚΑΜΙΩΖ
νου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐ-
τῆς καὶ τῶν γλυκυτά[των]
αὐτῆ[ς] τέκνω[ν]· ο[ἱ] ἀναγι-
νόσκοντες εὔξασ[θαι]
ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν INES

For the formula cf. no. 53.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford T. B. Mitford

No. 1

No. 4



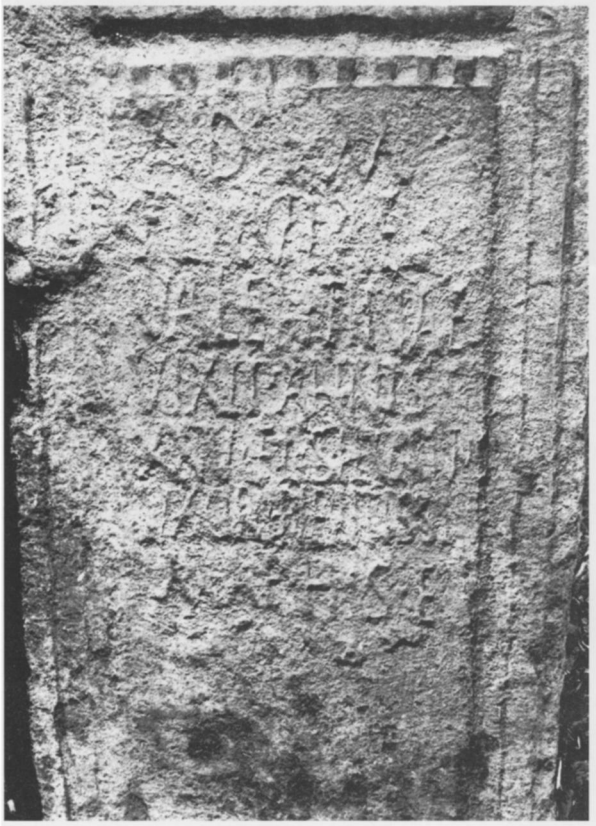
No. 5

No. 7

TAFEL VIII

No. 8

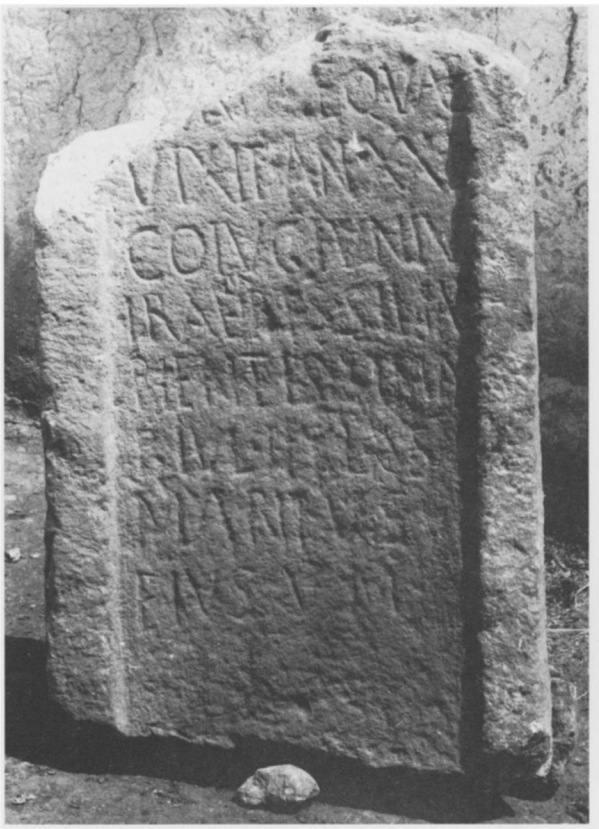
No. 9



No. 11

No. 15

The Inscriptions of Satala (Armenia Minor); T. B. Mitford, pp. 137–167



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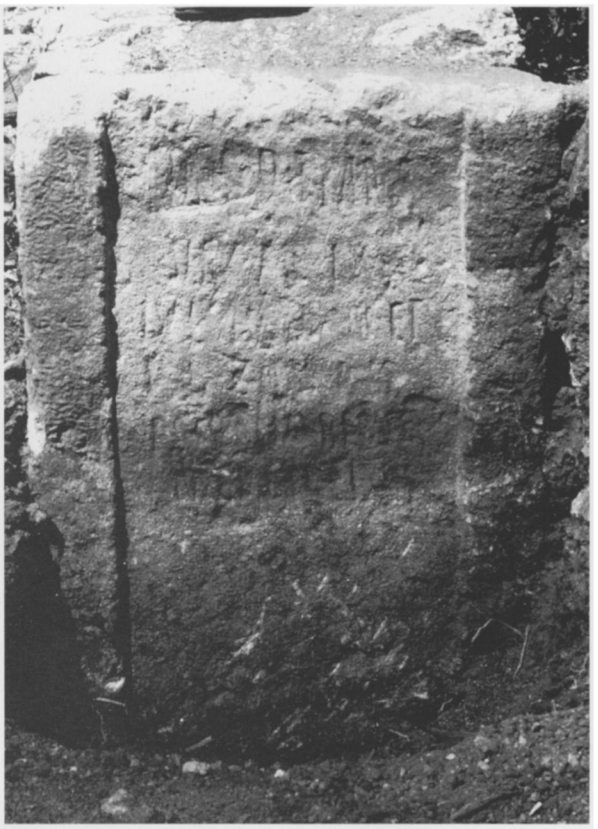
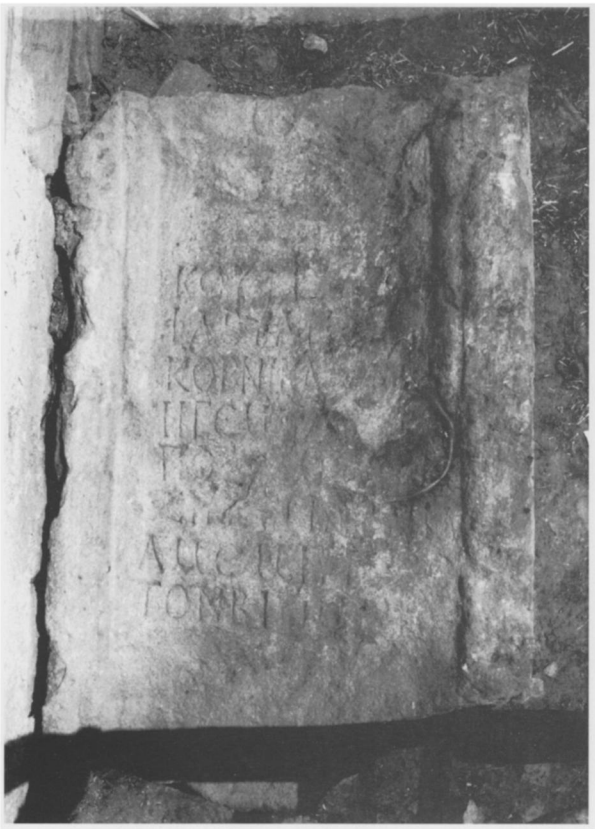


No. 18

No. 19

No. 22

TAFEL X



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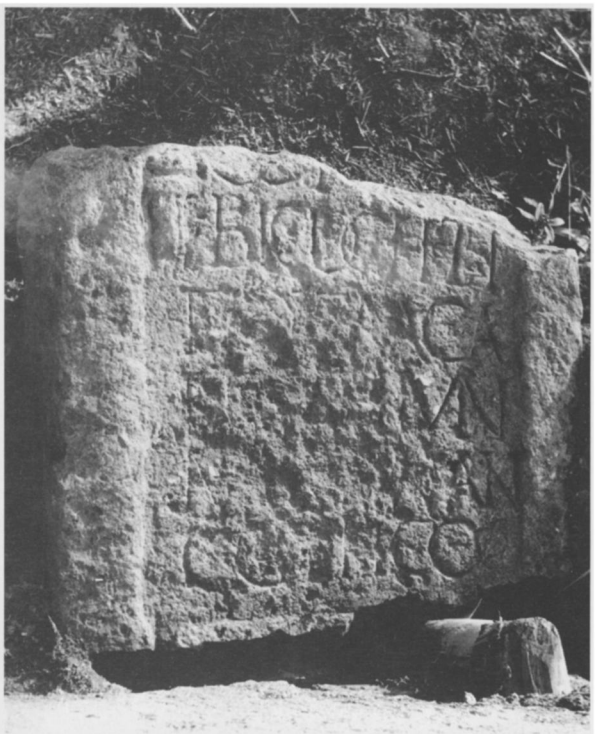
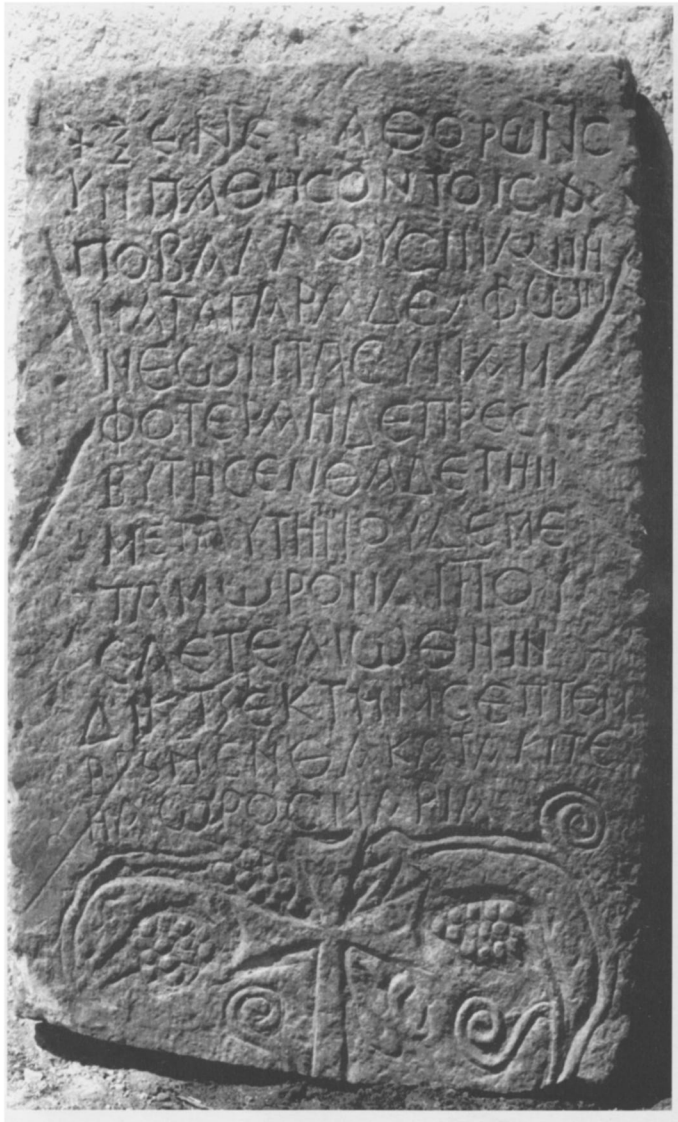


No. 27

No. 47

No. 34



No. 31

No. 35

No. 45

The Inscriptions of Satala (Armenia Minor); T. B. Mitford, pp. 137–167

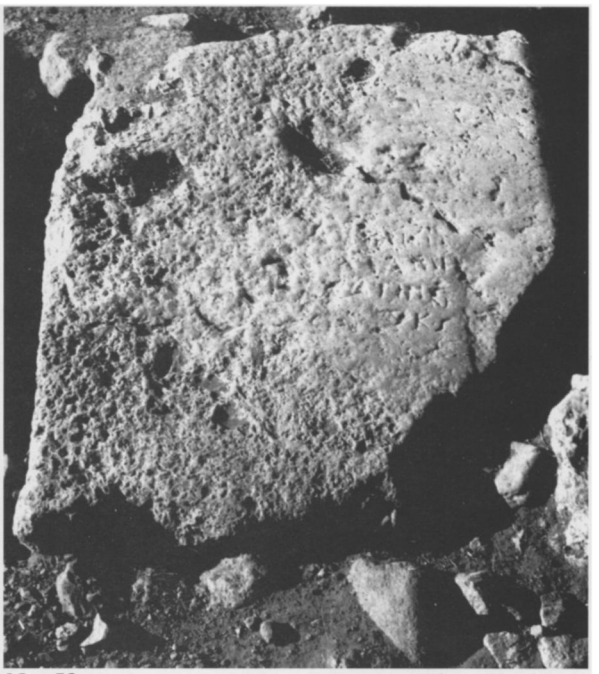
TAFEL XI

TAFEL XII

No. 32

No. 43

No. 12



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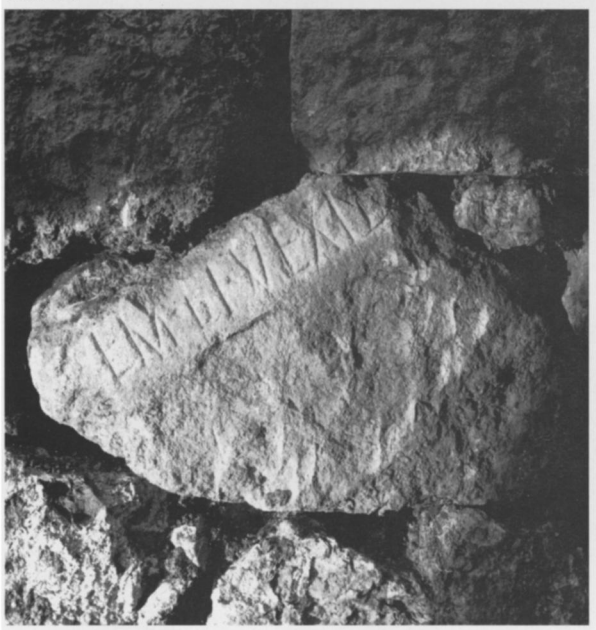

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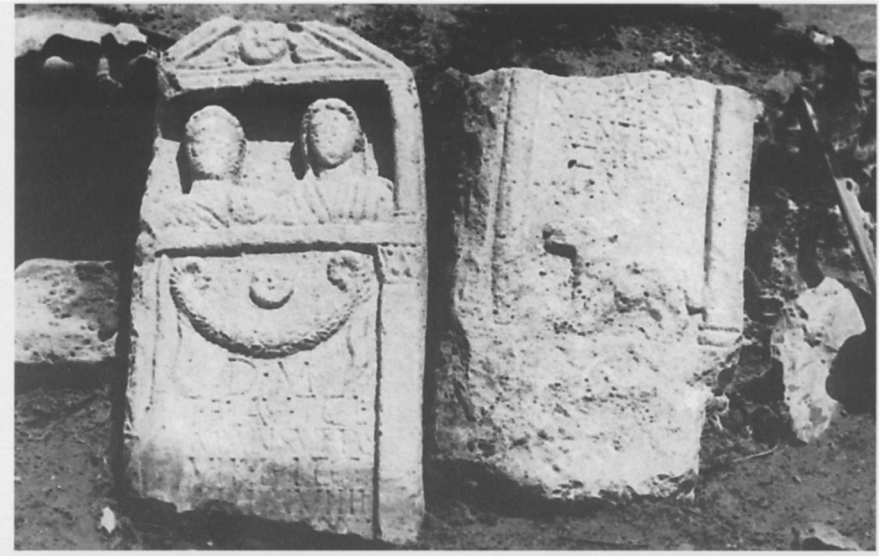
No. 6



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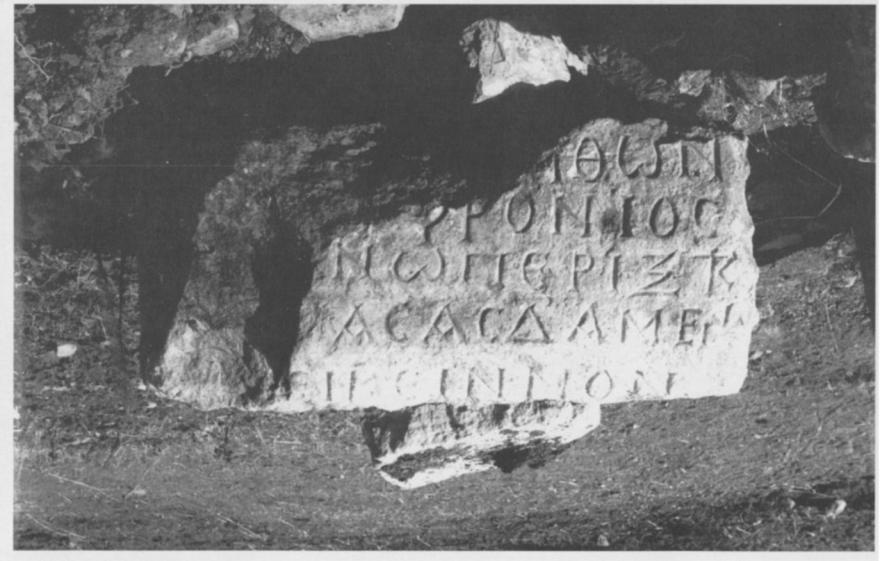

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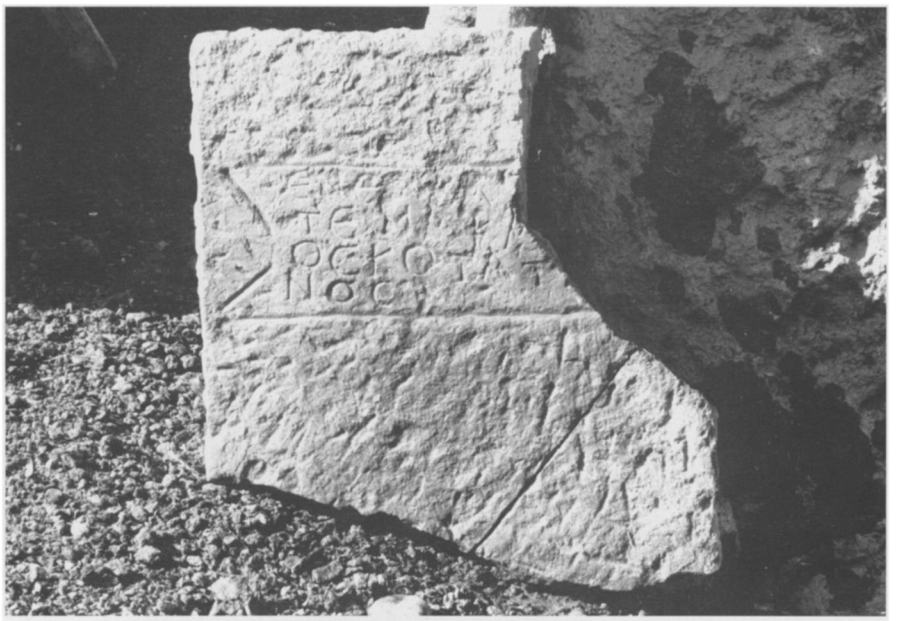
The Inscriptions of Satala (Armenia Minor); T. B. Mitford, pp. 137–167



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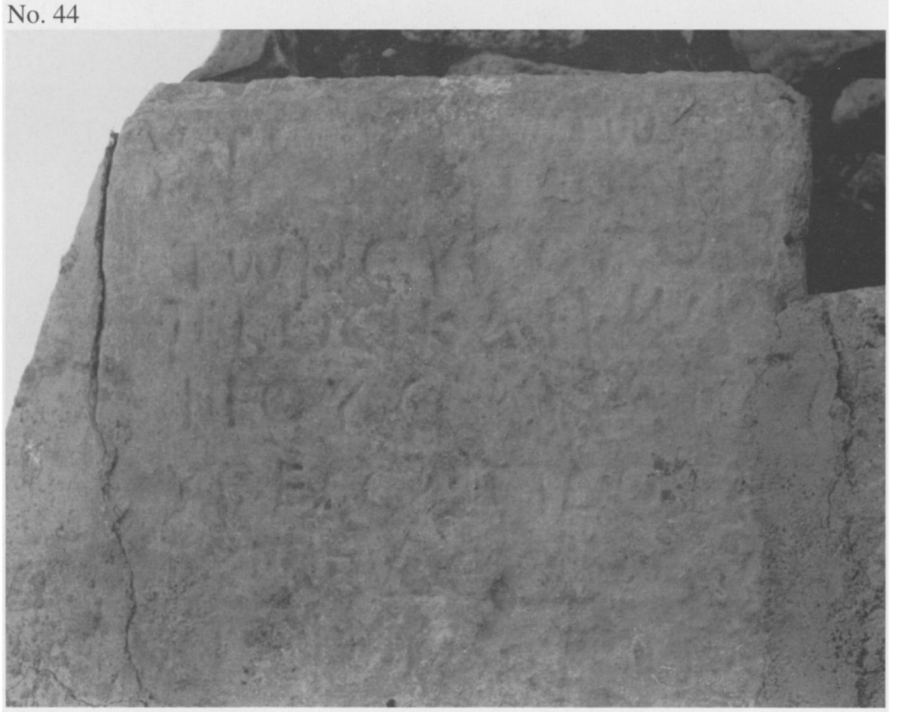

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